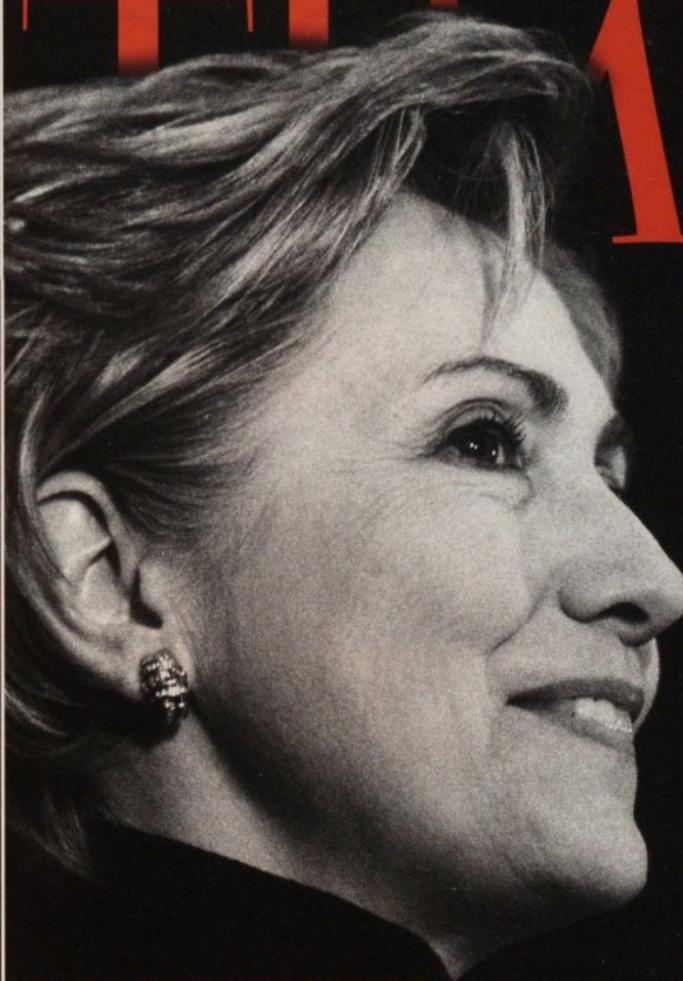


TIME



The
Presidential
Ambitions
Of Hillary
Clinton

BY KAREN TUMULTY

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 HATE HER

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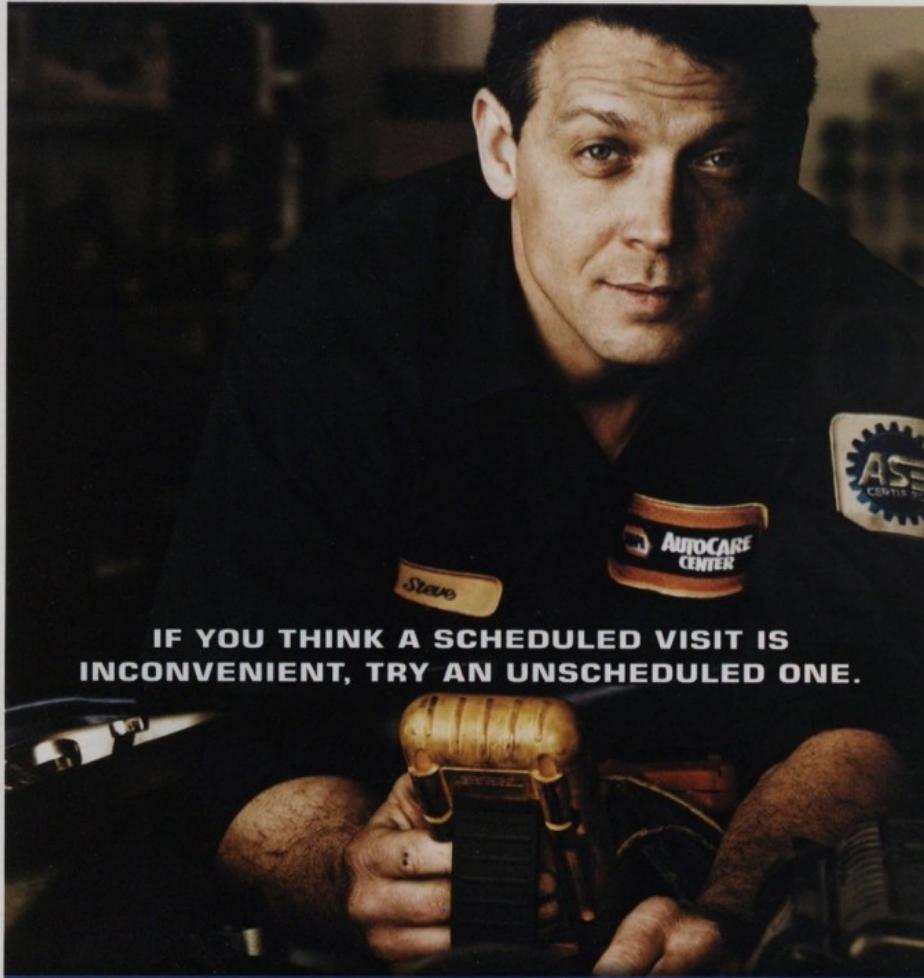
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TIME

August 28, 2006
Vol. 168, No. 9

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COVER: Photograph for TIME by Diana Walker

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▲ Some of Islam's most devout followers are Western converts to the faith

▲ Author Jonathan Franzen, relaxed



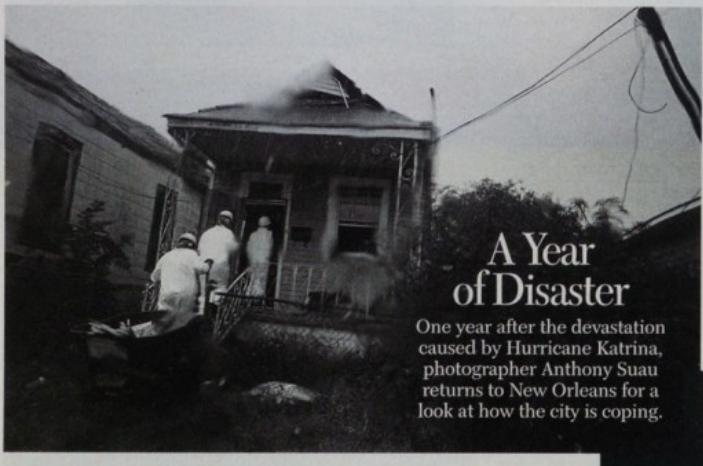
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Did John Mark Karr kill JonBenét Ramsey?



How do you feel about Hillary Clinton? Check one of the boxes on this week's cover, and mail to: TIME Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

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Check out TIME's website each day for breaking news, analysis of hot issues, photo galleries, multimedia features, blogs and opinion, and more. These were last week's most popular Web-exclusive stories >>



MOST POPULAR

1. 50 Coolest Websites
2. Cartoons of the Week
3. The JonBenét Suspect: A Loner's Life in Thailand
4. 25 Sites You Can't Live Without
5. The High Price of Israel's Hubris



LEBANON TALKBACK

Our coverage of the war between Israel and Hezbollah has been highlighted by the extraordinary work of Nicholas Blanford, who reported from southern Lebanon throughout the fighting. Ask him your questions about the war, the current uneasy truce and what the future holds, at time.com/blanford, and he'll answer.

SHOULD HILLARY RUN?

CAST YOUR VOTE Nobody stirs a strong response quite like the former First Lady. Is that good for politics? Take part in our poll on the polarizing pol at time.com/hillarypoll, and tell us if she should run in '08.



DIANA WALKER FOR TIME

LAST WEEK'S WINNER



PICTURE OF THE WEEK

This poignant shot of a Lebanese girl lighting a candle in Beirut's Martyrs' Square was our readers' favorite. See more images at time.com/potw.

U.S. OPEN As the event nears, tennis is looking for a new star to rival past greats like McEnroe, Evert and Borg. Who's your pick for the greatest all-time star of tennis? Vote at time.com/tennis.

QUICK POLL



TONY DUFFY—GETTY

RUSSIA, 15 YEARS LATER

On the 15th anniversary of the fall of the Soviet Union, you can see a gallery of the faces—and listen to the voices—of the new Russia, at time.com/russia.



CHRISTOPHER P. BROWN FOR TIME



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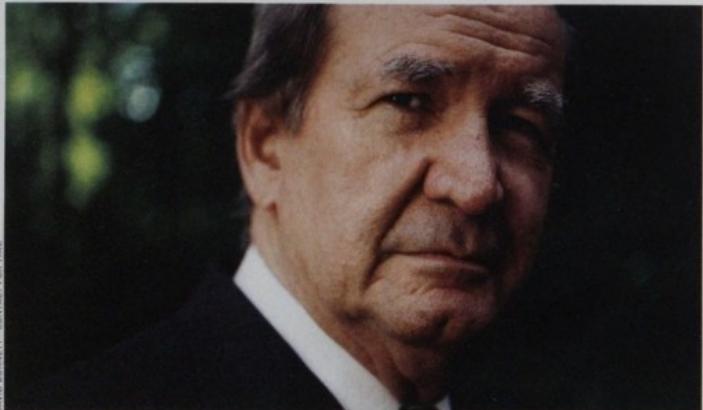
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10 QUESTIONS FOR Pat Buchanan

Unapologetically conservative and unfailingly provocative, Pat Buchanan has been firing from the right for most of the past four decades. In his new book, *State of Emergency*—out this week—the politician and omnipresent pundit confronts what he calls the immigrant “invasion and conquest of America.” Buchanan, 67, talked with TIME’s Jeff Chu about American identity, why conservatives will lose the culture wars and the rewards of being a cat lover.



DAVID BURNETT/CONTACT FOR TIME

The U.S. is in a state of emergency? If we do not get control of our borders and stop this greatest invasion in history, I see the dissolution of the U.S. and the loss of the American Southwest—culturally and linguistically, not politically—to Mexico. It could become a part of Mexico in the way that Kosovo is now a part of Albania.

You liken the immigrant wave to the Visigoths who sacked Rome. Is that fair? I’m predicting that America will no longer be one nation but more like the Roman Empire—a conglomerate of races and cultures held together by a regime. The country I grew up in was culturally united, even if it was racially

divided. We spoke the same language, had the same faith, laughed at the same comedians. We were one nationality. We’re ceasing to be that when you have hundreds of thousands of people who want to retain their own culture, their own language, their own loyalty. What do we have in common that makes us fellow Americans? Is it simply citizenship? Or is it blood, soil, history and heroes?

Your ’92 Republican Convention speech put another culture war on the agenda. Who’s winning? It’s not a battle of right and left but right and wrong. What do we believe about abortion? What do we believe about gay rights? The left has triumphed

in seizing the heights of culture—the media, Hollywood, the academic community—and it’s fiercely competitive in the political realm. I don’t think someone of Bill Clinton’s views could have been elected in, say, 1972. And we wouldn’t be debating gay marriage in the 1970s. People would have said, “Are you insane?”

Do you think legal gay marriage is inevitable? Traditionalists still have the upper hand, but there’s no doubt which way the trend is going. And it is not going the conservative way.

Can conservatives win the culture wars? Those of us on the right have been losing ground

since the 1970s and ’80s. Can we ultimately win? I think you would need a reconversion of the country to a traditionalist, Christian point of view—and I don’t see that coming.

You ran for President three times, most recently in 2000.

Will you again? The American people have spoken on that issue. But I loved campaigning. Everywhere you go, people are saying, “Go, Pat, go!” It’s like the NFL play-offs, and you’re captain of one of the teams. But as [British politician] Enoch Powell once said, “All political lives end in failure.”

How would you rate President Bush?

On some things—the Supreme Court, tax cuts—I give him an A-plus. On foreign policy, I give him an incomplete. If it doesn’t improve, it’s going to be failure. I don’t believe interventionism is the way to deal with rising Islamic revolution. We’re seen in the Middle East as an imperial power propping up corrupt regimes and giving Israel the wherewithal to do what they did to Lebanon. The President is widely reviled.

You sound a bit like Cindy Sheehan!

Anybody that knows Pat Buchanan knows we’re not dealing with Cindy Sheehan here. [Laughs]

I was surprised to read that the animal-rights group PETA gave you an award last year. I think it was most improved player! I’ve always been a cat fan, and my magazine ran a couple of articles saying, “Let’s stop cruelty to animals.” I’ve always been disgusted by that, even though I’m not a vegetarian.

I confess I always think Pat Buchanan seems to take things so seriously. What do you do for a laugh? I read the newspapers. There’s so much silliness and nonsense going on. ■

Got a question for Buchanan? Ask him at time.com/buchanan



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I HAD TO
SAVE
~~my THINGS.~~
~~my HOUSE.~~
my GRANDMOTHER.

I NEVER FELT HER WEIGHT AS I
CARRIED MY GRANDMOTHER
UP THE TWISTING STAIRWAY.
WATER WAS POURING THROUGH
THE DOOR. THERE WAS NO
TIME TO THINK. I KNEEL DOWN
IN FRONT OF HER, GRABBED
HER BY THE HANDS, AND
LIFTED HER ONTO MY BACK.
I KNEW WHAT I HAD TO DO
AND JUST DID IT.

SURVIVING KATRINA

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Discovery
CHANNEL

Stem Cells: The Hope and the Hype

Our cover story addressed the complicated reality behind the optimistic predictions and heated ethical and political arguments about stem cells. Doctors, patients and concerned citizens weighed in on issues of medical progress, morality and the President's veto of the human embryonic-stem-cell bill.

NANCY GIBBS IS TO BE COMMENDED FOR articulating the science of stem cells in layman's terms [Aug. 7] so that the public can make an informed decision regarding it. Science and technology have a long way to go with regard to this research, but imposing limits could impede a medical breakthrough. As a rare-disease patient and taxpayer, I hope that in a country with as much knowledge, expertise and resources as the U.S., that breakthrough will occur in my lifetime.

TRACY E. LATIMER

VICE PRESIDENT, CENTRAL NERVOUS SYSTEM VASCULITIS FOUNDATION
Las Vegas

THINK OF EMBRYOS USED FOR RESEARCH as troops being sent to war. Some must die so that others can live. Embryonic-stem-cell research should be funded, just as the war on terrorism is.

MEGHAN CHUA
Deerfield, Wis.

I VOTED FOR PRESIDENT BUSH AND HAVE agreed with almost all the decisions he has made. But the veto on embryonic-stem-cell research wasn't among them. I'm terminally ill, and although it's too late for me, denying U.S. scientists access to this 21st century technology because of religious beliefs is madness. If the President ever needs such treatment and decides not to use it, so be it. Denying it to everyone else is inhuman.

JOHN PORTER
Portland, Ore.

THE SAME SCIENTIFIC PROCESS THAT demonstrated that the earth is round and that animal species have evolved shows beyond a doubt that a fertilized egg is a full human being. The proposition that life begins sometime after fertilization is based on convenience, not science, and clears the way for the destruction of the



“The sanctity of the embryo must be weighed against the suffering that stem-cell research has the potential to alleviate.”

MICHAEL ADCOX
Daphne, Ala.

weakest members of society. I am a liberal Democrat and a card-carrying member of the A.C.L.U. who considers protection of the embryo a matter of civil liberties.

LODOVICO BALDUCCI
Tampa, Fla.

WHEN THE PRESIDENT VETOED THE STEM-cell-research bill, many Americans, including me, were finally able to support a major presidential decision. No one is opposed to improving treatments for can-

cer, spinal-cord injuries or heart disease, but I am opposed to destroying life in order to get there. Embryos must be respected in the same way an 8-month-old fetus is respected. I believe science should pursue research on umbilical-cord and adult stem cells but leave the embryos alone.

BRIAN WALLIS
Glen Allen, Va.

I'M AN INDEPENDENT, BUT I WILL BE VOTING for Democrats this November—and in 2008. Potential breakthroughs in health care should not be sacrificed to a political agenda.

DAN BRITT
San Antonio, Texas

HAS ANYONE CONSIDERED THE POTENTIAL economic impact of cures resulting from human embryonic-stem-cell research? At a time when our medical and Medicare systems are being stretched and their costs are escalating, the possibility of curing patients—as opposed to managing their illnesses—could be a tremendous financial boon. The research should move forward.

C. ELISE ALEGRIA
Arlington, Mass.

Condi's Clout

RE MIKE ALLEN'S WHITE HOUSE MEMO [Aug. 7]: Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice should be congratulated for wanting something more than a quick-fix, Band-Aid solution to the Middle East conflict. Diplomacy can work only if both sides abandon their unattainable goals, stop squandering their wealth and their children's future in pointless conflict, and start exhibiting the maturity needed to reach a compromise.

ROY WESTON
Burnaby, B.C.

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helping others to help themselves.

HEYWARD ALLEN TOYOTA MOVES FORWARD TO GIVE PROM-GOERS A FUN, SAFE CELEBRATION.

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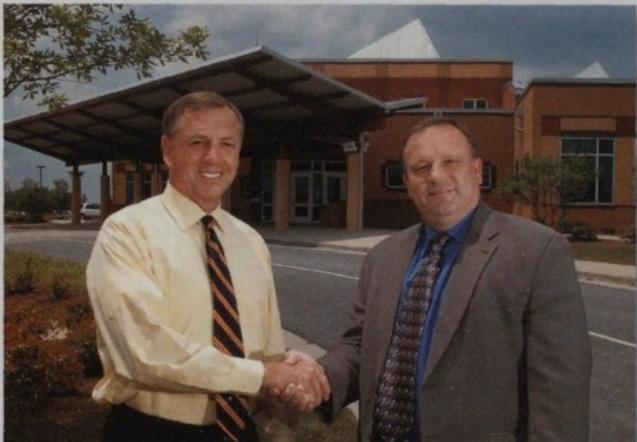


Photo by www.Photobucket.net

Steve Middlebrooks (left), President of Heyward Allen Toyota, and John Osborne, Principal of North Oconee High School, join efforts to encourage students to attend After Prom.

At some point in their lives, most teenagers have disagreed with their parents about curfew. Heyward Allen Toyota in Athens, Ga., offers families a break on one important night—prom night.

For the past five years, the dealership has taken a proactive approach to help curb reckless partying on prom night. In partnership with local high schools, Steve Middlebrooks, President of Heyward Allen Toyota, entices students to stay on campus for the all-night After Prom event by providing one of the grand prizes, which are given away at dawn.

"We have always tried to take a balanced approach to giving back to the community by supporting a variety of worthy causes," says Middlebrooks. "After Prom is a further extension of our commitment to local schools and their students."

For the annual event, the business community helps organizers transform a high school's campus into a fun zone, where students can enjoy an entertaining party in a safe environment free from alcohol and drugs.

Heyward Allen Toyota provided a car as the grand prize for the first two After Proms. For the last three years, the dealership has awarded a cash donation.

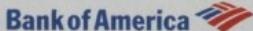
"It's the grand prize offered by Heyward Allen Toyota that helps sell this concept to the students," says John Osborne, Principal of North Oconee High School. "The first year, we had about 500 students, and now we have more than 900 attend."

Heyward Allen Toyota may be in the business of putting people on the road. But on prom night, it does its best to keep students safe and off the road.



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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

FACES OFF

■ Our Aug. 7 story on private-equity firms included pictures of Stan O'Neal, CEO of Merrill Lynch, and Henry Kravis, of Kohlberg Kravis Roberts. Transposed photo captions misidentified O'Neal as Kravis and vice versa.

BOOK SWAP

■ "6 Restaurant Cookbooks to Keep You Dining In" [July 31] included reviews of *Big Small Plates* by Cindy Pawlcyn and *Italian Two Easy* by Rose Gray and Ruth Rogers. The photographs of the books' covers were switched.

GOLF GOOF

■ Our July 31 report on Ralph Reed's loss in Georgia's Republican Party primary for Lieutenant Governor showed a picture of Reed and others at a golf course misidentified as St. Andrews, Scotland. The picture was taken at Carnoustie, another Scottish course.

RICE'S STYLE OF DIPLOMACY IS STALLED AT the level of a sixth-grader. Girls that age start making two lists: one naming their best friends and an even longer one of the people they will never, ever talk to. Rice and President Bush are best friends, but the list of people, parties, organizations and countries they won't talk to is endless. It's time they grew up.

DANUTE V. HANDY
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Radical Islam vs. the U.S.

COLUMNIST CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER argued that the Middle East is a new front in the U.S. war on Islamic terrorism [Aug. 7]. After mocking radical Islamists for daring to call for a return of land that was under their control more than 600 years ago, Krauthammer pointed out the irrationality of such an agenda and called the struggle against it "enduringly surreal." Welcome to the disorienting surrealism many of us have experienced in trying to figure out why Zionists feel they can lay claim to the Holy Land, which they have not possessed for two millennia.

(THE REV.) TIMOTHY M. SOLOMON
Meadville, Pa.

KRAUTHAMMER INVOKED THE WISDOM of history by alluding to "the century-old Arab-Israeli dispute." The history lesson he conveniently omitted, however, is 15 centuries of anti-Semitism by Christian Europe, without which there might never have been an Arab-Israeli dispute. Europe needs to take more responsibility. And the U.S. needs to refrain from characterizing the conflict as solely the fault of terrorists.

STEVE WALACH
Pawtucket, R.I.

Hollywood's Meek Men

BELINDA LUSCOMBE'S ESSAY "WHERE HAVE All the Cary Grants Gone?" [Aug. 7] certainly struck a chord with me. Not only do movies depict men in a generally negative manner, but sitcoms and TV commercials also consistently portray them as jerks, losers or lascivious oafs. They have become embarrassing to watch.

CAROLE O'BRIEN
Avenel, N.J.

CARY GRANTS? THERE AREN'T EVEN ANY Harrison Fords in movies anymore.

STEVE CORSO
Sayville, N.Y.

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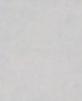
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If you were walking that way,
would you guide them?

What if it was out of your way?

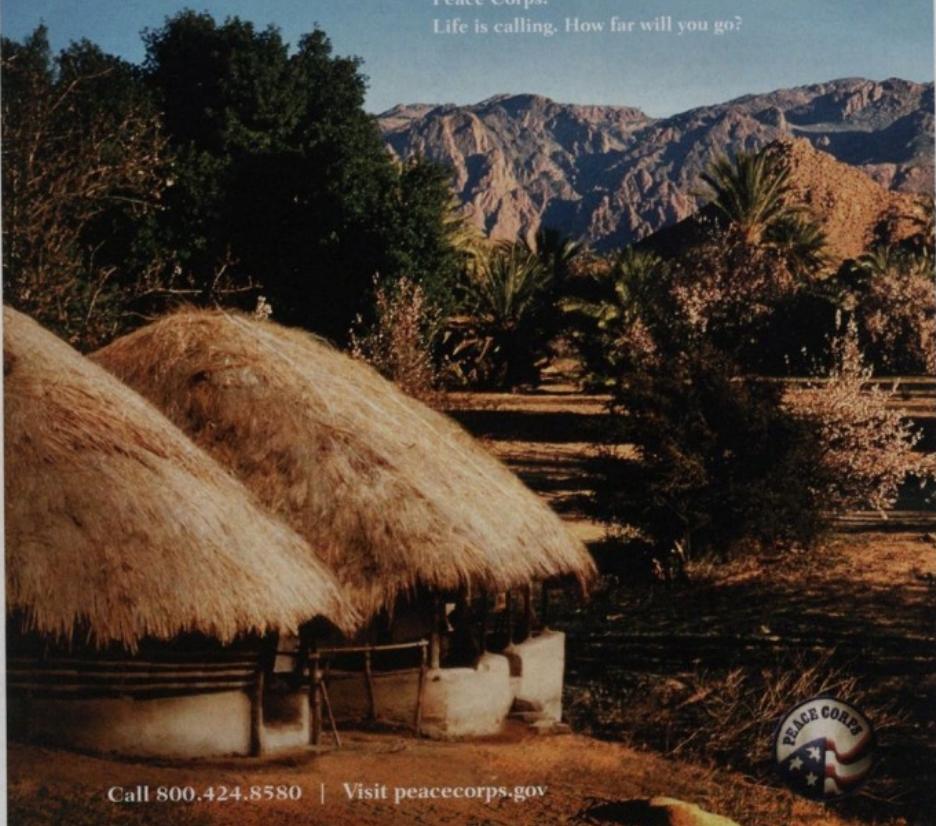
One mile.

Two miles.

Two thousand miles,
directly inland from the Skeleton Coast,
to a one-room schoolhouse in the foothills of Namibia.
What if you were the teacher in that schoolhouse?
Would you travel that far to teach someone?
To learn something yourself?

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• **Its 27-watt compact fluorescent bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb.** This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing and needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency and a dual position control switch for 27 and 18 watts of power, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts 10 times longer than an ordinary bulb make this lamp a must-have.

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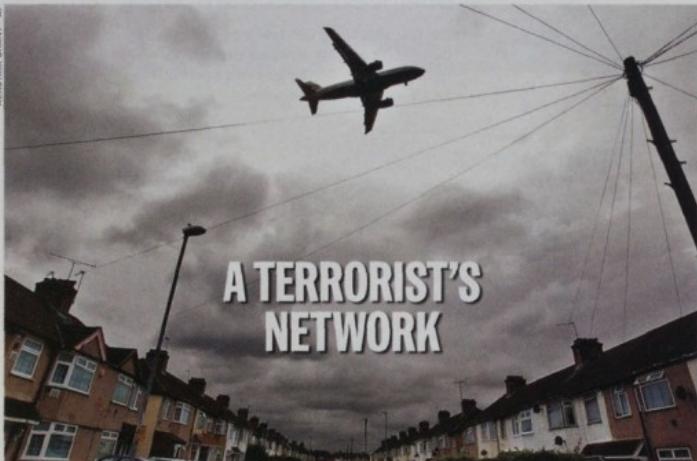
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NoteBook

ALASTAIR GRANT—AP



A TERRORIST'S NETWORK

RASHID RAUF, THE 25-YEAR-old Pakistani-born, British-raised baker's son fingered as the central figure in the foiled plot to bomb U.S.-bound flights from London, has been described as friendly and ordinary. But Pakistani security officials familiar with Rauf's interrogation tell TIME that the plan's real mastermind may be anything but—the man who gave Rauf his marching orders is believed to be a senior al-Qaeda operative who may be a top aide to the terrorist group's No. 2,

Ayman al-Zawahiri. They would not name the aide, but an official said it was a possibility al-Zawahiri himself may have approved the plane-bombing plan.

That hypothesis would add one more—and very significant—strand to the web of jihadist contacts Rauf maintained. The breadth of that network has gradually emerged since British authorities flagged Rauf as a "person of interest" about six months ago and notified Pakistani law enforcement, which tapped Rauf's phones and monitored his movements. Investigators tell TIME that Rauf—who

was arrested in eastern Pakistan on Aug. 9, a day before British authorities rounded up 24 suspects in connection with the plot (one has since been released)—had close links with several known al-Qaeda supporters in Pakistan as well as with an Islamic militant who is one of India's most-wanted terrorists. Rauf's neighbors in Bahawalpur, the city where he lived after moving back to Pakistan in 2002, say he was constantly shuttling between his home and eastern Afghanistan, including the province of Paktia, a Taliban stronghold.

WHAT'S NEXT

NSA Wiretapping

Judge spansks Bush program

A judge ruled the NSA's domestic eavesdropping unconstitutional, but that won't stop the program. A stay is in effect, the Administration is appealing, and Congress is pondering legislative fixes.

Missile Defense

Son of Star Wars for 2011

With enduring threats from Iran and North Korea, the Pentagon is expected soon to propose a European site, probably Britain, to deploy its scaled-down antimissile system, dubbed Son of Star Wars.



Rauf's arrest and other help from Pakistani authorities in connecting the dots to al-Qaeda may boost the counterterrorism cred of embattled Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf. Although outwardly supportive of Musharraf's government, U.S. military officials have quietly been questioning just how intensely it is battling the Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters who cross routinely between Pakistan and Afghanistan. U.S. casualties in Afghanistan have increased in recent months. And some Pentagon officials have been privately critical of Pakistan for harboring al-Qaeda members in unpoliced areas along the border—the region where, according to Islamabad, the unidentified al-Qaeda mastermind believed to be behind the British plot is said to be hiding.

But Pakistan may have won points with the U.S. for its steadfastness in the Rauf case. British authorities had wanted to wait for the alleged plotters to do a dry run of their mission before striking. Washington vigorously disagreed, and while Pakistan

was officially neutral in the spat, an Islamabad official points out, "The last thing we want is for something to happen and everyone says it's linked to Pakistan." According to one source, the U.S. threatened to take Rauf with Pakistan's help even if London didn't move. Washington won, the British swooped down on their suspects, and Pakistan delivered Rauf.

Rauf's networks haven't yet been fully mapped. For instance, investigators say his phone records show a number of calls to contacts in Germany. Who were they? He made

The plane-bomb plotters like had a worldwide web

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Vioxx Court Losses

Ouch for the painkiller's maker

Merck suffered two defeats in litigation over its drug Vioxx, which can cause heart attacks. It plans to appeal—and with some 14,000 other cases still pending, could probably use ... a painkiller.

ON CANDID CAMERA

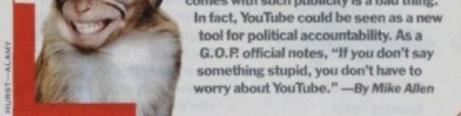
George Allen insults



Republican Senator George Allen of Virginia, a sunny conservative, had hoped to use his re-election race this year to build the machinery for a White House run in 2008. Last week he became the first political victim of the phenomenal YouTube era. Allen is videotaped at each campaign stop by a "tracker" for his Democratic opponent, James Webb. Such operatives are standard on the stump, and aides warn candidates to ignore them. But Allen, speaking at a rural picnic, took the bait. He singled out the Webb volunteer, who is of Indian descent, telling the crowd to welcome "Macaca." That's either a French-North African ethnic slur, a type of monkey or a contorted reference to a mohawk haircut—the guy has a mullet-like do—depending on who's translating.

"Macaca" (a.k.a. S.R. Sidarth) got the gibe on video. Last week, three days after Allen spoke, Webb's campaign posted it on YouTube.com and ignited a firestorm.

Now other campaigns are worried about being "YouTubed" and losing control of their message in cyberspace. But not everyone thinks the scrutiny that comes with such publicity is a bad thing. In fact, YouTube could be seen as a new tool for political accountability. As a G.O.P. official notes, "If you don't say something stupid, you don't have to worry about YouTube." —By Mike Allen



numerous phone calls to South Africa. What were they about? Several of his 23 suspected co-conspirators being held in Britain are said to have attended Koranic study sessions run by a hard-line Islamic group known as Tablighi Jamaat (the name roughly means "missionary group"). Did they know Mohammed Sidique Khan and Shehzad Tanweer—who took part in July 2005's London subway bombings and are believed to have been regulars at a Tablighi

Jamaat mosque? Were they acquainted with Richard Reid, the jailed, failed shoe bomber, who frequented a Tablighi Jamaat mosque too? Pakistani intelligence officials aren't done with Rauf but expect eventually to hand him over to Britain. "He can be extradited," says an official, "once we get the maximum out of him." One can imagine that will not be a pleasant process. —By Bill Powell. Reported by Aryn Baker, Jessica Carsen, Ghulam Hasnain and Talat Hussain

World Basketball

Can Team U.S.A. rebound for gold? Without a big title since 2000, the U.S. men's basketball team will try to regain its glory at this week's World Championships. The gold is no layup, but would get the team into the 2008 Olympics.



“Your unprecedented holy war and steadfastness are beyond the limits of my description. It's a divine victory. It is a victory for Islam.”

AYATULLAH ALI KHAMENEI, Iran's Supreme Leader, lauding Hezbollah after a cease-fire was declared between the Lebanese militants and Israel

“The wiretapping program here in litigation has indisputably been continued for at least five years... obviously in violation of the Fourth Amendment.”

ANNA DIGGS TAYLOR, federal judge, ruling that the NSA's no-warrant surveillance program violates the Fourth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which prohibits unreasonable search and seizure

“We could not rule out the risk of somebody going crazy—or even crazier—within the U.S. government.”

RAUL CASTRO, Defense Minister and acting President of Cuba, on why he mobilized tens of thousands of troops shortly after the illness of his brother Fidel was announced three weeks ago

“Those are the people who have been overcharging us—selling us stale bread and bad meat and wilted vegetables... First it was Jews, then it was Koreans, and now it's Arabs.”

ANDREW YOUNG, civil rights leader, ex-U.N. ambassador and Wal-Mart lobbyist, on why the retail titan is right to displace urban mom-and-pop shops. He later apologized and resigned his Wal-Mart post

“It's a 'No Ice Ball Left Behind' policy.”

MIKE BROWN, planetary astronomer, on an International Astronomical Union proposal to redefine what a planet is. Dozens of solar-system bodies could gain planet status under the new, broader rules

For more daily sound bites, visit time.com/quotes

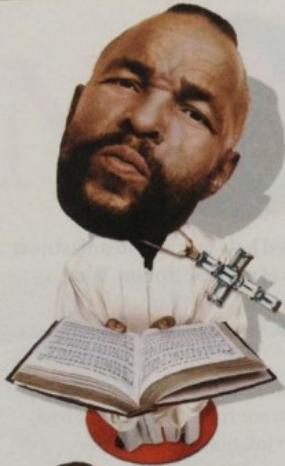
Sources: AP; U.S. District Court Eastern District of Michigan; AP (2); New York Times



Oh Yes, She Sings

Now we'll always have Paris

Celebutante Paris Hilton says her debut album—creatively titled *Paris* and out this week—shows off the real her. But wait, there's even better news: she is already working on an encore.



THEY PITY THE FOOLS

DID YOU THINK MR. T WAS JUST TALK? THIS FALL the *A-Team* star and born-again Christian acts on his tagline with a new reality show on TV Land called—what else?—*I Pity the Fool*. Turns out he pities the fools so much that he'll help them change their lives, applying his moral “rules for fools” to hapless willing subjects on each episode. Mr. T isn't the only 1980s TV personality using retro-star status to spread his gospel. Here are four more. —By Sarah Lilleman



WILLIE AAMES

Charles in Charge

Buddy is a sidekick no more. Aames went on to star in the Christian TV show *Bibleman*, fighting evildoers like the Gossip Queen. He retired his “sword of truth” in '04, but *Bibleman* is out on DVD.



TODD BRIDGES

Diff'rent Strokes

What you talkin' 'bout, Willis? The answer today: God. Bridges travels the U.S. speaking on his faith and recovery from drug addiction. He's also writing an autobiography, *Finding Freedom*.



KIRK CAMERON

Growing Pains

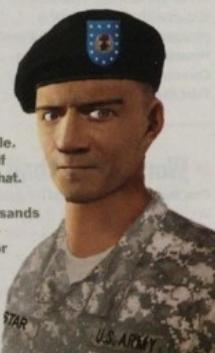
The ex-atheist, who played Mike Seaver, has starred in the *Left Behind* films, based on the popular apocalyptic books, and runs the Way of the Master, a ministry to teach evangelism techniques.

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY FRANCISCO CACERES. HEAD SHOTS, FROM TOP LEFT: IAN WHITE; KRT—NEWSCOM; BLACK/TOBY (AAMES BODY); PETER ROBBINS; JACQUI WONG—LEFT; JEFFREY MAYER—WIREIMAGE

I WANT YOU TO JOIN THE ARMY!

Army sergeants usually inspire fear. Not Sergeant Star. He's soft-spoken, approachable and, well, kinda cute. Oh, and he's not human. Star is the U.S. Army's newest recruiter—a camo-wearing avatar at GoArmy.com who answers questions IM-style. He's straightforward: Ask “Will I go to Iraq?” and he'll say it's “likely.” If he's stumped, Star will direct you to a live recruiter, who is waiting to chat.

Star's debut on Aug. 2 was the Army's first step toward the planned October unveiling of its new interactive Web portal. Thousands have chatted with Star, typically staying on-site for 15 minutes—three times as long as the average visit before he went live. Major Brad Van Poppel, who works on the Web-outreach program, credits Star's “cool factor” and says he's fulfilling his mission: “When 85% of teenagers are online every day, the Army wants to be there.” —By Sally B. Donnelly



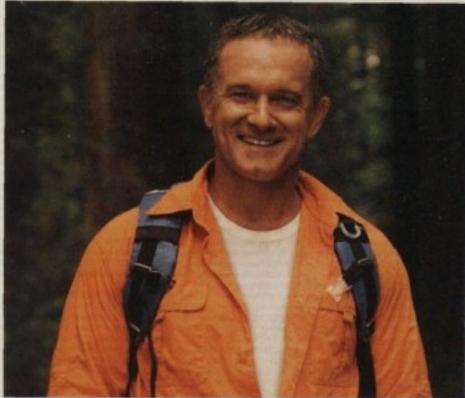
THE ANA LOG
Reporting from her Washington base camp, **ANA MARIE COX** dishes the dirt on D.C.

IS OUR PRESIDENT LEARNING?
Bush reveals that his summer reading list includes Camus's existential novel *The Stranger*. Funny. You'd think Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* would be more his style.

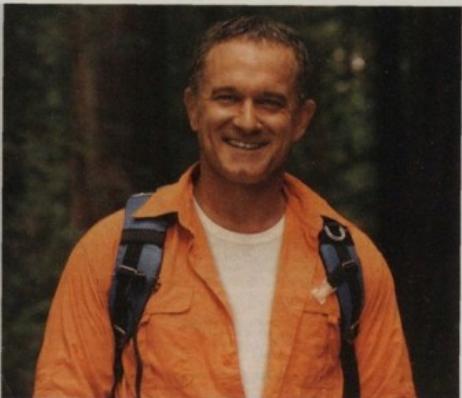
FAKES ON A PLANE Hair-trigger **air security** means evacuating a West Virginia airport because of the (false) detection of bomb materials. A New York City-bound plane returns to London after an unclaimed cell phone starts ringing on board. And a flight from London to Washington is diverted to Boston when a woman tells other passengers she's an undercover reporter testing flight security and—no faking here—urinates on the floor. Who said flying isn't glamorous anymore?

IMITATION IS THE SINCEREST FORM OF FLACKERY The **Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee** (DSCC) pulls an online ad after Hispanic groups protest the inclusion of a shot of people scaling a border fence in a montage of fearful images (other subjects: Kim Jong Il, Osama bin Laden). DSCC then tries something scarier—a ham-fisted send-up titled *Snakes on a Senate*. And no, it's not about Joe Lieberman.

SNEAKY, SNEAKY The *Washington Post* reports Dick Cheney's aides now “only announce his movements when he makes public appearances.” Sharp-eyed observers learn he is in Jackson Hole, Wyo., after spotting his plane and a radar dish that is his antimissile battery. Does he have reason to be so secretive, or is he just making reporters, you know, report?



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[†]IMS Health National Prescription Audit.
(February 2006)

*Please see a brief summary of prescribing information
on the following pages.*

IMPORTANT INFORMATION: Caduet is a prescription drug that combines 2 medicines, Norvasc and Lipitor. Norvasc is used to treat high blood pressure (hypertension), chest pain (angina), or blocked arteries of the heart (coronary artery disease); Lipitor is used along with diet and exercise to lower high cholesterol. It is also used to lower the risk of heart attack and stroke in people with multiple risk factors for heart disease – such as family history, high blood pressure, age, low HDL-C, or smoking.

Caduet is not for everyone. It is not for those with liver problems. And it is not for women who are nursing, are pregnant, or may become pregnant. If you take Caduet, tell your doctor if you feel any new muscle pain or weakness. This could be a sign of rare but serious muscle side effects. Tell your doctor about all of the medicines you take. This may help avoid serious drug interactions. Your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver function before and during treatment and may adjust your dose. If you have any heart problems, be sure to tell your doctor. The most common side effects are edema, headache, and dizziness. They tend to be mild and often go away.

Caduet is one of many options for treating high blood pressure and high cholesterol, in addition to diet and exercise, that you or your doctor can consider.

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NUMBERS

46 Number of states where the immigrant population has grown since 2000. South Carolina had the fastest growth: 47%

23.5% Percentage of the population that is non-Hispanic white in Hawaii—up 6%—one of two states where the percentage of whites is growing. The other is West Virginia

50% Percentage of 12-to-17-year-olds surveyed who said drugs, alcohol or both are available at teen parties

80% Percentage of parents who do not think alcohol or marijuana is available at teen parties



\$125 million Amount pledged last week by New York City's billionaire mayor, Michael Bloomberg, to fund the new Worldwide Stop Smoking Initiative

200,000 Estimated number of New Yorkers who have quit smoking since 2002, when Bloomberg banned lighting up in workplaces

24% Percentage of Americans polled who could name two U.S. Supreme Court Justices

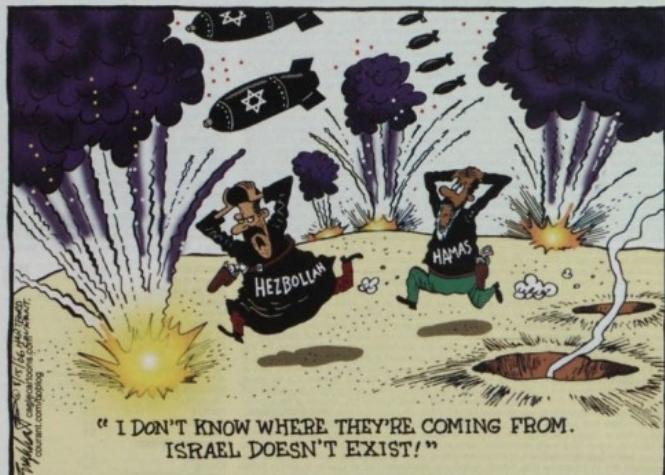
77% Percentage who could name two of Snow White's seven dwarfs

Sources: AP; Census Bureau; National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse (2); New York Daily News (2); Zagby (2)

FROM TOP: IMAGEBROKER—ALAMY; EVERETT



PUNCHLINES



“There’s been a myriad of sporadic cease-fires in the Middle East over the last 60 years—indeed, over the last three millennia... Still, I think this one’s going to last. Call it a hunch.” **ROB CORDRAY**



“Did you have trouble at the airport? I had to throw away all my makeup. I believe it’s an elaborate ruse perpetrated by the big cosmetics industry. Maybe it’s not terrorism. Maybe it’s Maybelline.” **JIMMY KIMMEL**

“NASA lost the original film of the moon landing. Well, you know, in their defense, they’re not exactly rocket scientists.” **DAVID LETTERMAN**

For more political humor, visit
time.com/cartoons

BOB ENGLEHART—THE HARTFORD COURANT; CARL CARMAN; TOM STIGLICH, CAM—OTTAWA CITIZEN/CAGLE CARTOONS



Milestones

ALLAN JASCHINSKI—POLARIS

SENTENCED. **Mei Gibson, 50,** controversy-generating movie star who was arrested last month after driving while intoxicated and showering the police officers who apprehended him with anti-Semitic epithets—for which he has since apologized; to three years of probation, \$1,600 in fines and one year in a 12-step program for alcoholism; after pleading no contest to a misdemeanor count of drunk driving; in Malibu, Calif.

DIED. Miguel (Anga) Diaz, 45, considered the finest conga virtuoso of his generation, who energized genres from jazz to traditional Cuban standards with his battering five-drum technique; of a heart attack; in Sant Sadurní d'Anoia, Spain. A player on the 1997 trilogy of albums of Cuban maestros that launched the Buena Vista Social Club phenomenon, Diaz became a force on the British label World Circuit, which last year released his album *Echo Mingua*, an electrifying mélange of West African music, hip-hop and riffs on jazz classics.

▼ DIED. Brum Kirby, 57, piquant, high-pitched actor who infused his many supporting roles—often



as best friend, often to Billy Crystal—with intensity and humor over his 35-year career; of leukemia; in Los Angeles. Kirby's most notable performances included a turn as a humorless lieutenant in *Good Morning, Vietnam* and as a journalist pal to Crystal's Harry in *When Harry Met Sally*. Kirby's character marries—above, at center—then eggs on his comrade to follow him into domestic bliss.

DIED. Johnny Duncan, 67, hunky, Texas-born country baritone who moved to Nashville, wrote songs for Charley Pride and Conway Twitty, and in the 1970s became popular for such hits as *She Can Put Her Shoes Under My Bed Anytime* and *It Couldn't Have Been Any Better*; of a heart attack; in Fort Worth, Texas.

▼ DIED. Rudi Stern, 69, artist who specialized in what he called “painting stories with light”; of lung cancer; in Cadiz, Spain. In the 1960s, Stern designed projections for concerts by classical musicians and rock acts like the Doors and for psychedelic fetes put on by LSD promoter Timothy Leary. He later re-lived a dormant medium by establishing the aptly named New York City gallery Let There Be Neon, creating installations for performance artist Laurie Anderson and emblazoning the façade of a 78-story Hong Kong building.

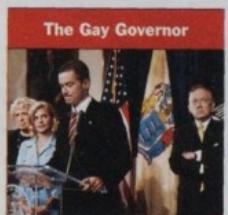
DIED. Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, 75, regal and charismatic Queen of New Zealand's indigenous Maori, a royal position

established in 1858 in response to Britain's colonization of the Southwest Pacific archipelago; in Ngaruawahia, New Zealand. Although her post was ceremonial, Te Ata, the sixth Maori ruler, worked to raise the profile of Maori abroad, attending the coronations of foreign sovereigns and meeting with world leaders like President Bill Clinton, Queen Elizabeth II and Nelson Mandela.

DIED. Mary Harper, 86, expert on the mental health of seniors and the last surviving member of the team that carried out the U.S. government's infamous Tuskegee Syphilis Study; in Columbus, Ga. In her two decades with the Federal Government, the social worker educated health professionals, campaigned for improvements in the treatment of mental illness, and established a national research center for the mental health of minorities. After the 1972 exposure of the shady methods used in the 40-year Tuskegee study—in which researchers tracked older black male subjects who had syphilis but did not tell the men they had the disease—Harper educated minorities about research projects and became, in her words, a “stickler for informed consent.”

▼ DIED. Alfredo Stroessner, 93, canny and cruel dictator of Paraguay from 1954 to '89 who brought relative stability and economic growth to the South American country—which had seen six Presidents toppled from 1948 to '54—before being ousted in a coup and exiled; in Brasilia. The macho general, who flashed his name in neon across the country and famously sheltered Nazis, including Josef Mengele, solidified and maintained his control over Paraguay by rigging elections, torturing and murdering perceived enemies, and turning his country into a smuggling capital (the “price of peace,” he once said). By the 1980s, as his power

waned, the U.S., a one-time supporter because of Stroessner's staunch anti-communist stance, labeled his regime a dictatorship.



McGreevey in May, below; he resigned in 2004, above

JIM MCGREEVEY'S August '04 admission was a stunner. “I am a gay American,” he said. After this most public of coming outs, the Democrat resigned as Governor of New Jersey. “He put on a brave front,” says longtime friend Ray Lesniak, a New Jersey state senator. “But he had an incredible amount of pain inside him. He has now come to terms with who he is.” And his life has changed dramatically. He and his second wife Dina are in the process of divorcing. Last month McGreevey, 49, moved into a \$1.5 million pad in Plainfield, N.J., with his new partner, Aussie-born banker Mark O’Donnell, whom he met at a party last September. A lawyer by training, McGreevey has been doing some consulting work and recently returned from China, where he sealed a deal to establish an Asian campus for New Jersey’s Kean University. He has also done some therapeutic writing—*The Confession*, his tell-all memoir, is due out Sept. 19, the same day he’s scheduled to be on *Oprah*. “He’s no longer driven to achieve and please,” Lesniak says, “but to be authentic and real.” —By Elisabeth Slemme

CHRIS PIZZELLA—THE RECORD/CONTRAST; ANDREW MILLS—STAR LEDGER/CONTRIB



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Joe Klein

Running Against the Big Shots

JUST SAW YOU ON TELEVISION, THE ELDERLY WOMAN IS SAYING FROM behind her screen door. "Were they attacking me, or was I talking?" Steve Laffey, a Republican running for the U.S. Senate from Rhode Island, asks. It was an ad, the woman says. About your parents. Alzheimer's, she says. Laffey's father has Alzheimer's. The ad is about the working-class modesty of the Laffey family. The candidate is going door to door on Lionel Avenue in Coventry, R.I., on a soft summer evening. He is accompanied by a mob that includes his wife and five children, plus assorted childhood friends of his and *their* children ... plus a

clutch of campaign workers trailed by a very large recreational vehicle plastered with yellow-and-blue LAFFEY FOR SENATE signs. A mystical average-folks communion is taking place: a whole lot of folks on Lionel Avenue have been watching the local news and have seen the ad. "My mother has Alzheimer's," a woman says. A retired teacher named Mary Monahan says, "I'm voting for you. I've been waiting to tell you personally," a reference to Laffey's habit of descending on unsuspecting neighborhoods with his horde, dashing from house to house. He and his troops wear sneakers, shorts and blue baseball hats with his name. "See," the candidate says, sweating through his yellow polo shirt. "It's happening. They know me. There are intense feelings about me on both sides. That's great! Ronald Reagan was a polarizer, and he won Rhode Island."

In the bleached landscape of American politics, this year's Republican U.S. Senate primary in Rhode Island is grand opera in Technicolor. Laffey is a conservative, supported by a virulently anti-tax group, the Club for Growth. The incumbent, Lincoln Chafee, is a breathtakingly courageous moderate: he opposed the Bush tax cuts and was the only Republican to vote against the war in Iraq. But there is a lot more going on here than dueling political philosophies. There is a truckload of New England sociology.

Chafee is an Episcopalian aristocrat who inherited the Senate seat once held by his father John Chafee. "Linc is barely a politician," says a Democratic colleague. "He's the only Senator I know who isn't infatuated with the sound of his own voice." Indeed, Chafee the Younger seems a refugee from the counterculture: he worked as a blacksmith and horseshoer after graduating from Brown University with a classics degree in 1975. He has a benign, diffident, slightly spacey aspect. Visiting a senior citizens' center last week, Chafee apologized for interrupting lunch. "Don't worry! We love you," a woman shouted, and, I swear, Chafee blushed. Later I asked him why he remained a Republican. "It feels very comfortable locally. In Rhode Island, Democrats are the entrenched power, and we're the reform party. Regionally, it's comfortable too," and Chafee rattled off a list of Northeastern G.O.P. moderates.

"In Washington, though, there has been a big shift to the Sun Belt Republicans. They have different priorities. I think I stand for traditional Republican values. We've always been the party of fiscal responsibility. Of conservation. We've always warned against foreign entanglements and opposed government getting mixed up in personal lives."

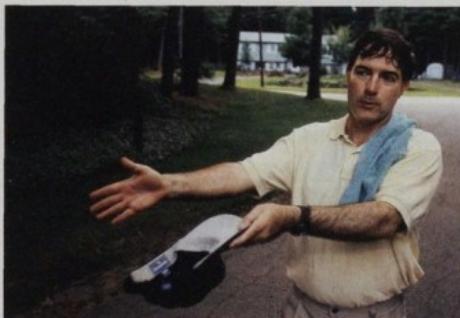
Not recently, though. Laffey represents the Republican Party that Ronald Reagan built. His father was a union machinist. Laffey was the first in his family to go to college (Bowdoin, and then Harvard Business

School). But the family story was far more complicated than that. His eldest brother, whom Laffey describes as a "promiscuous homosexual," died of AIDS. His elder brother and a younger sister suffer from schizophrenia. "These guys saved me," he says, pointing toward his childhood pals blitzing the suburban street in Coventry. "We were a tribe. Their parents took me in. I only made it out because of them." He went on to manage an investment bank and then came home to Cranston, R.I., ran for mayor and helped save the city from bankruptcy by challenging the local public employees' unions but also by raising taxes, a heresy overlooked by his sponsors at the Club for Growth. He has, belatedly, pledged not to raise taxes if elected to the Senate.

Laffey is all adrenaline, the metabolic opposite of Chafee. And despite espousing the usual grab bag of social and economic conservative positions, he seems to most enjoy populist tirades against corporate special interests (especially the oil companies: he favors a robust alternative-energy plan for national-security reasons) and also against federal spending. "If you want big checks like the \$150 million Chafee brought

back from the \$27 billion highway bill, vote for him. Rhode Island gets the short end of the stick when it comes to earmarks. I mean, the bridge to nowhere alone was \$223 million," he says, referring to the famed Alaskan boondoggle. "I'm going to vote against all that."

If he gets the chance. Both Laffey and Chafee trail Democrat Sheldon Whitehouse, another Protestant aristocrat, in the polls. Rhode Island voted overwhelmingly for John Kerry in 2004; it probably hasn't grown any fonder of George W. Bush since then. Laffey doesn't care. He's running on a different wavelength, against the big shots in both parties. "Have you ever seen a campaign like this?" he exclaims, jogging to the next house. No and, sort of, yes. A fellow named Ned Lamont just overturned the Establishment next door, in Connecticut. ■



U.S. Senate candidate Steve Laffey goes door to door in Rhode Island

To see a collection of Joe Klein's recent columns, visit time.com/klein

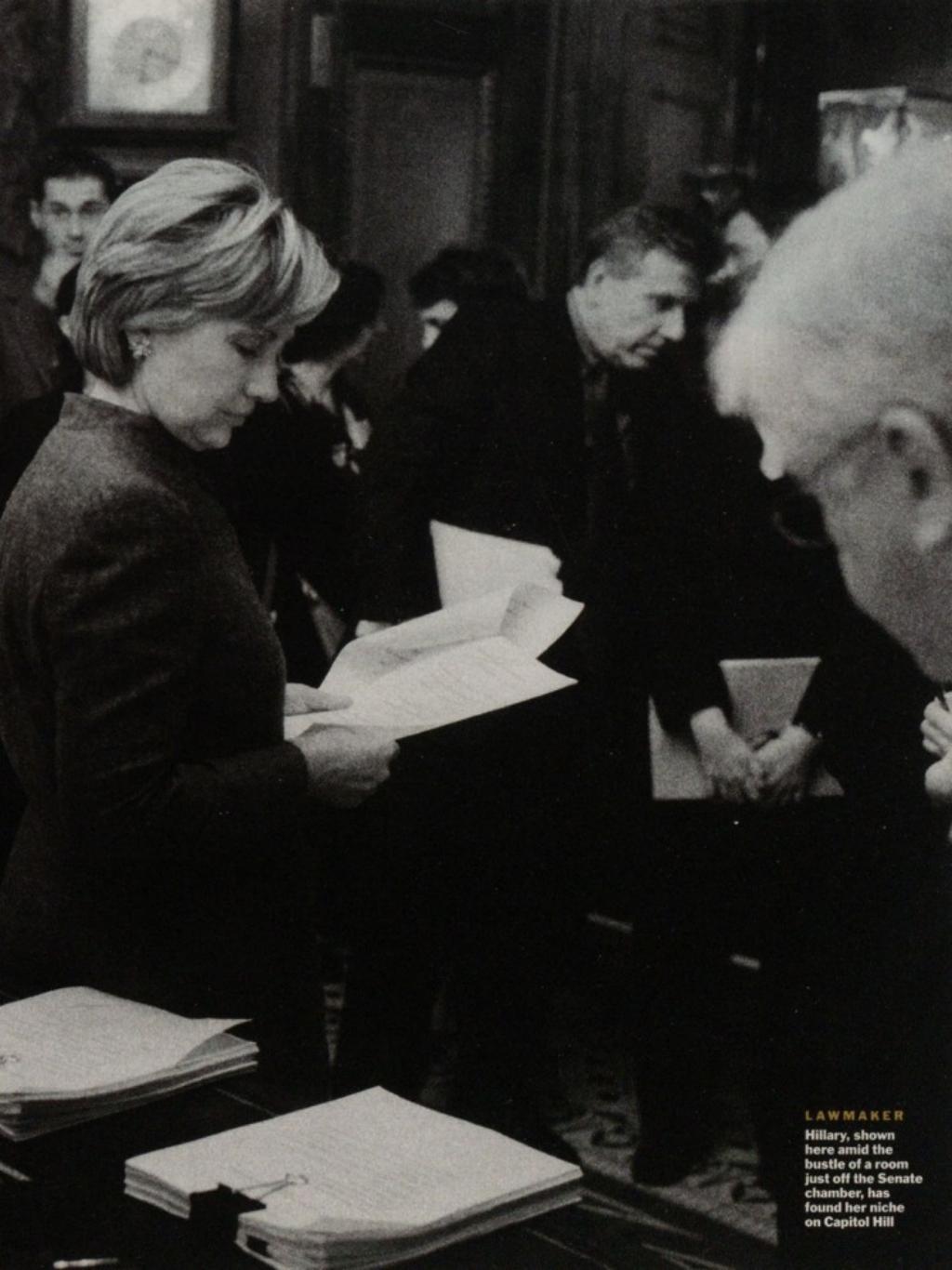
Ready To Run



Hillary Clinton has emerged from Bill's shadow as a politician in her own right. But if she runs for President, he could hurt as well as help her By Karen Tumulty

If you ask anyone around Hillary Clinton the question that everyone is asking, the answer comes back in a shot: The freshman Senator from New York is far too busy concentrating on her re-election in November to be giving even a passing thought to 2008.

Thank you very much. But politics is ultimately a game of logistics, and the junior Senator is putting the machinery in place for a campaign that looks far grander than a re-election cakewalk in New York. All it will need is for someone to throw the switch. Against virtually nonexistent opposition for her Senate seat, she is raising money as though she were in the fight of her life, bringing in more than \$33 million. What's left over—which might easily be \$10 million or more—could be the seed money for a presidential campaign. And as her husband did the year before launching his 1992 bid for the presidency, she has been putting



LAWMAKER
Hillary, shown here amid the bustle of a room just off the Senate chamber, has found her niche on Capitol Hill



together the intellectual pieces of a campaign agenda in a series of centrist, high-fiber speeches around energy policy, the economy, privacy and even rural issues. Her political operation has grown to an army of 32 full-time employees, plus 10 from her Senate office who draw part of their salary there and 13 consultants who are building, among other things, a national direct-mail operation. She recently added an Internet guru to their ranks. And offering his services for free is the best Democratic political strategist on the planet: Bill Clinton is "thinking about [her presidential prospects] all the time," says one of Hillary's advisers. "He's thinking about it and talking to a lot of people, promoting Hillary. This is something he is very focused on."

Should Hillary run? Could Hillary win? Is this a dynasty in the making? Is a Clinton candidacy good for the republic? Normally, those would be questions that only political consultants would be asking at this stage, but given the outsized status of both Clintons, ordinary voters are already wondering the same thing. Hillary would step into the race as the instant front runner, but the risks would be enormous. It is hard to imagine a greater vindication than seeing the second President ever impeached hold the Bible as his wife takes

the oath of office. But if Hillary ran and lost, both Clintons would come out tarnished—no small consideration when a promising Senate career and a presidential legacy are in the balance. So sensitive is the question of Hillary's future that both Clintons refused to let TIME interview them about it, and they discouraged those around them from talking, which explains why nearly all the people who did talk did so on the condition that their name not be used.

What they say is that 2008 is closer than it looks on your calendar. Whereas her husband could wait until just four months before the first caucus to make his announcement, a front-loaded presidential primary-and-caucus schedule and a growing field of contenders don't give Hillary that luxury. Her strategists tell TIME they are urging her to make her intentions clear by next spring—by forming an exploratory committee, for instance—to lock up fund-raising and political talent. Those close enough to know say that she is genuinely undecided but that Bill is not disguising his eagerness to see her make a bid for his old job. "He thinks that she should run, and he's going to do everything possible to help her," says Texas insurance mogul and philanthropist Bernard Rapoport, a longtime Clinton friend and backer.

MAKING IT ON HER OWN

Arriving for an appearance at the C.W. Post campus of Long Island University, Hillary jokes with aides

BILL OF THE BURBS

The ex-Pres joins locals to watch his wife in a Memorial Day parade in their new hometown of Chappaqua, N.Y.

LOVE HER, HATE HER

THE PROSPECT OF A HILLARY-FOR-PRESIDENT campaign has put much of the Democratic establishment in a bind. The early line is that Hillary would be unstoppable in a Democratic primary but unelectable in a general election. That bet would help explain the curious political subspecies I came across frequently in reporting this story: moneymen who are lining her campaign account even as they say privately they hope she won't run.

Her strategists point out that all she would have to do in November 2008 is win every state John Kerry did, plus one. They consider Ohio and Florida her best opportunities. And there is plenty of encouraging news for her in the latest TIME poll. More than half of those surveyed—53%—said they had a favorable impression of her; she registered higher than the other most familiar names in the potential Democratic field, Al

THOSE CLOSE ENOUGH TO KNOW SAY HILLARY HASN'T MADE UP HER MIND, BUT BILL IS EAGER TO SEE HER MAKE A BID FOR HIS OLD JOB

Gore (49%), John Edwards (46%) and John Kerry (45%). Her negative ratings (44%) were lower than either Kerry's or Gore's. Edwards generated fewer negative reviews (31%), but 23% of those polled said they didn't know enough about him to have an opinion one way or the other. In hypothetical matchups with the preseason G.O.P. favorite, John McCain, Hillary is the only big-name Democrat to make a real race of it, with McCain edging her by just 2 points among registered voters. By comparison, McCain would trounce Kerry by 10 points and Gore by 9.

But what those overall figures do not show is how differently Hillary is viewed in red and blue America and how familiar she already is to voters. Other candidates may have a chance to persuade voters of their merits, but people have pretty much made up their mind about Hillary. Only 3% of those surveyed in the TIME poll said they had no opinion of her, positive or negative. She is the

inkblot test of a polarized electorate. In the TIME poll, Democrats overwhelmingly describe her as a strong leader (77%) who has strong moral values (69%). Republicans by and large see an opportunist who would say or do anything to further her political ambitions (68%) and puts her political interests ahead of her beliefs (60%). As for independents, more than half (53%) of those surveyed said they would not support her, with 34% putting themselves in the "definitely not" category.

Polls aside, what the Clintons know from experience is this: if Hillary runs, the race will be long and brutal and expensive. There are few names that so ignite the Democratic political base. About a year ago, when party pollster Mark Mellman, who does not work for Senator Clinton, asked a focus group of 10 African-American women to name their all-time political hero, eight picked Hillary, he says. But the Clinton opposition is at least as ardent. Hillary has already figured as Lady

Macbeth in enough volumes to fill a bookmobile, and in the next year the publishing industry will be adding to the collection with such titles as *Liberal Fascism: The Totalitarian Temptation from Mussolini to Hillary Clinton* and *Whitewash: How the News Media Are Paving Hillary Clinton's Path to the Presidency*. One of her hapless opponents for the Senate seat ran an ad against her last week that featured pictures of Hillary and Osama bin Laden on the same screen. As a presidential candidate, Hillary could count on every attack from the right that Bill got—maybe worse, because he never had to contend with the blogosphere or the newer kind of independent operation that turned *swift boat* into a verb in the 2004 presidential election.

And she is not as insulated as she once was on the left, which is far angrier than it used to be. Some liberals say they will not forgive her support for the Iraq invasion or, even worse, her refusal to recant that vote. When Hillary



addressed the liberal group Campaign for America's Future in June, she was booed. And everyone there knew whom Kerry meant when he said, at the same conference, "It's not enough to argue with the logistics or to argue about the details. It is essential to acknowledge that the war itself was a mistake."

Hillary of late has made a point of stepping up her criticism of the Bush Administration, to the point of calling for the ouster of Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. And in a neat bit of Clintonian triangulation, she distanced herself from pro-war Senator Joe Lieberman even as her husband campaigned for him. But the hard truth is, she doesn't have much wiggle room. National security is the toughest test for a Democrat, particularly for a woman and especially for a woman so associated with feminine causes like child care and education. Her chief strategist has a grim assessment of what Hillary is up against on that front. The country may be ready for a woman President, Bill has privately told friends, but the first one to make it is more likely to be a Republican in the Margaret Thatcher mold.

THE TROUBLE WITH BILL

FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS, THE Clintons have been the most fascinating tango act in politics. Sometimes they moved perfectly in sync. Other times, they had to make up the steps as they went. But always each has known what to do when the other stumbled. She became a Clinton not when she married Bill but after he lost his first bid for re-election as Arkansas Governor and she realized the state's voters weren't ready for a first lady who kept her last name.

Now the choreography is reversed, and it is Hillary's time to take the lead. The Biotechnology Industry Organization learned that the hard way when it paid Bill's customary six-figure speaking fee to book him as the star attraction at its annual convention for 20,000 attendees. A week or so before the April 11 speech in Chicago, his people made a sudden demand: he wanted it closed to all media except the trade press. Hillary, as it happened, had dibs on the spotlight that day, with a speech to the Economic Club of Chicago. The couple's handlers wanted to make sure



SOLIDARITY In Buffalo, N.Y., Hillary and Felician Sister Johnice prepare to kick off a project to computerize health-care records for the poor

WHEN BILL SUBS FOR HILLARY, YOU WONDER WHICH ONE IS THE CANDIDATE. HE OFTEN ENDS UP TALKING ABOUT HIS PRESIDENCY

that she, not he, got the headlines, which is how it turned out. Before Bill's aides make a major commitment for him, says an ally, "there's a lot of checking" with Team Hillary.

Yet ceding center stage does not come naturally to Bill. He can be simultaneously Hillary's best asset and a subtle saboteur. When they appeared together at a \$1,000-a-ticket fund raiser for Hillary last summer on Nantucket in Massachusetts, his introductory remarks were longer than her speech, recalls a prominent Democrat who was there. As the guest of honor's turn to speak finally came, much of the crowd migrated to the other side of the pool to

gather where her husband continued to talk.

Then there was the scene in Buffalo, N.Y., in May when she formally accepted her party's nomination for re-election at the state Democratic convention. Hillary's handlers had the good sense to plant Bill in the audience and not onstage until after she had finished the speech in which she hailed him as "an inspiration and a mentor and a friend and a partner." But for at least 15 minutes after she and every other politician had left, he lingered at the microphones, answering reporters' questions, oblivious to aides trying to scoop him out.

With the talent he has and the baggage he brings and the sensation he creates, Bill Clinton is the best possible political spouse and the worst. "I don't know what he does. Does he campaign for her? Doesn't he campaign for her?" asks an adviser to Hillary. "I don't think anybody within the inner circle of the Clintons understands how this will work." Her 2000 Senate race was something of a test run. As a sitting President, he could beg off anything more than the occasional campaign appearance. Safely behind the scenes, however, Bill went over her speeches line by line, hassled her staff when they overscheduled her, oversaw her debate prep, second-guessed her ad buys.

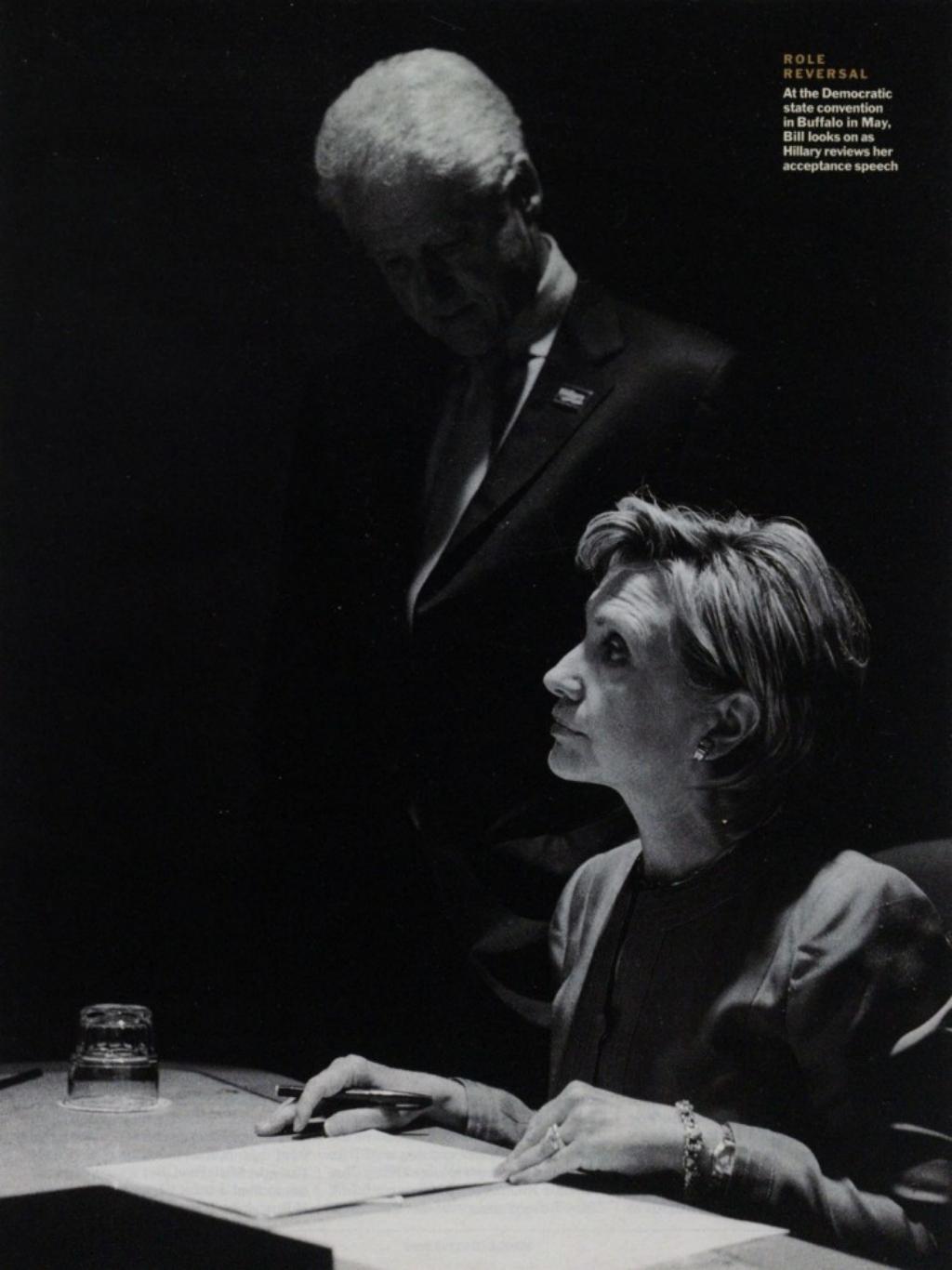
Hillary has improved her game considerably since becoming a politician in her own right. When scripted, she can still come off as a scold, but she has learned to attack a rope line with gusto and at her best can be engaging, warm and funny, especially in small settings. Still, "he overpowers her with his gifts," says a senior Democratic strategist. When they appear together, he adds, "it also makes it harder to see the gifts that she has that he doesn't, like a better sense of self and much less insecurity."

Being at Bill's side can seem like standing next to a nuclear blast. Hillary appeared to vanish as he set the audience on fire at Coretta Scott King's funeral in February. When Hillary's moment came, aides noticed something familiar about her ponderous tribute: she was lifting the best line of her husband's 2004 Democratic National Convention speech. She memorialized Martin Luther King Jr.'s widow as having risen from her grief after his assassination to tell the civil rights movement, "Send me." It was a leaden version of the "send me" riff with which Bill had electrified the crowd in Boston two years ago, describing John Kerry's Vietnam service. "She doesn't have his touch," says one of their oldest friends. "My recommendation would be that they not campaign together."

But that would create a different problem. People would start wondering, once

ROLE
REVERSAL

At the Democratic state convention in Buffalo in May, Bill looks on as Hillary reviews her acceptance speech



again, what the deal is with that marriage. More than eight years after the country lived through the trauma of seeing a marital crisis turn into a constitutional one, the state of the Clintons' union continues to fascinate people. A comedian can rarely mention either of them without a dig at their private life. A tally of how much they see each other (14 days a month on average since the beginning of 2005) merited front-page treatment by the *New York Times*. Even the unveiling in April of their official portraits at the Smithsonian—hers, a luminous profile, evoking the Italian Renaissance; his, a sporty pose you might have expected to see over the fireplace at Southfork—had the sharp-eyed tabloids noting that no wedding ring was visible in his.

As with everything else about the Clintons, how you view their marriage tends to be a good indicator of your politics, and vice versa. Whereas a majority of Democrats in the *TIME* poll said they believe Hillary stayed with Bill after the Monica Lewinsky scandal because of Hillary's commitment to the marriage, 72% of Republicans said she did it to advance her political career. Nothing makes her strategists more nervous than the occasional scandal-sheet report that Bill had been spotted out on the town. The possibility of another scandal is "the subject nobody wants to touch," says one. "It could be nothing, or it could be the biggest issue. People gave her a break on Monica, but if there's a subsequent relationship, that presents a real problem."

If Bill is a distraction when Hillary shares the stage with him—and more of one when she doesn't—that leaves Hillary with another option: sending him out on the campaign trail alone. What political pros call the surrogate is the most traditional role for the spouse and often the most valuable. But when Bill is subbing for Hillary, you start wondering which one is the candidate. In late July, for instance, people paying \$75 a ticket began lining up more than an hour early at Capitale in New York City, where Bill was headlining a fund raiser for Hillary's political-action committee. He opened by saying he wanted to make three points: first, that his absent wife, who was attending to the people's business down in Washington, has been "a really good Senator"; second, that he was "particularly proud" of her for bucking a partisan atmosphere to offer constructive solutions on energy, the environment, health care and education; and third ... well, his third point turned out to be about the "epic struggle" of his presidency. For the rest of Bill's 20-minute speech, his wife merited an individual mention only here and there. Everything else was framed in the first-person-plural *we*. Not that the crowd seemed to



PREP TIME

New York's junior Senator goes over the text of a speech she is giving to the Not-for-Profit Leadership Summit in Rye Brook, N.Y.

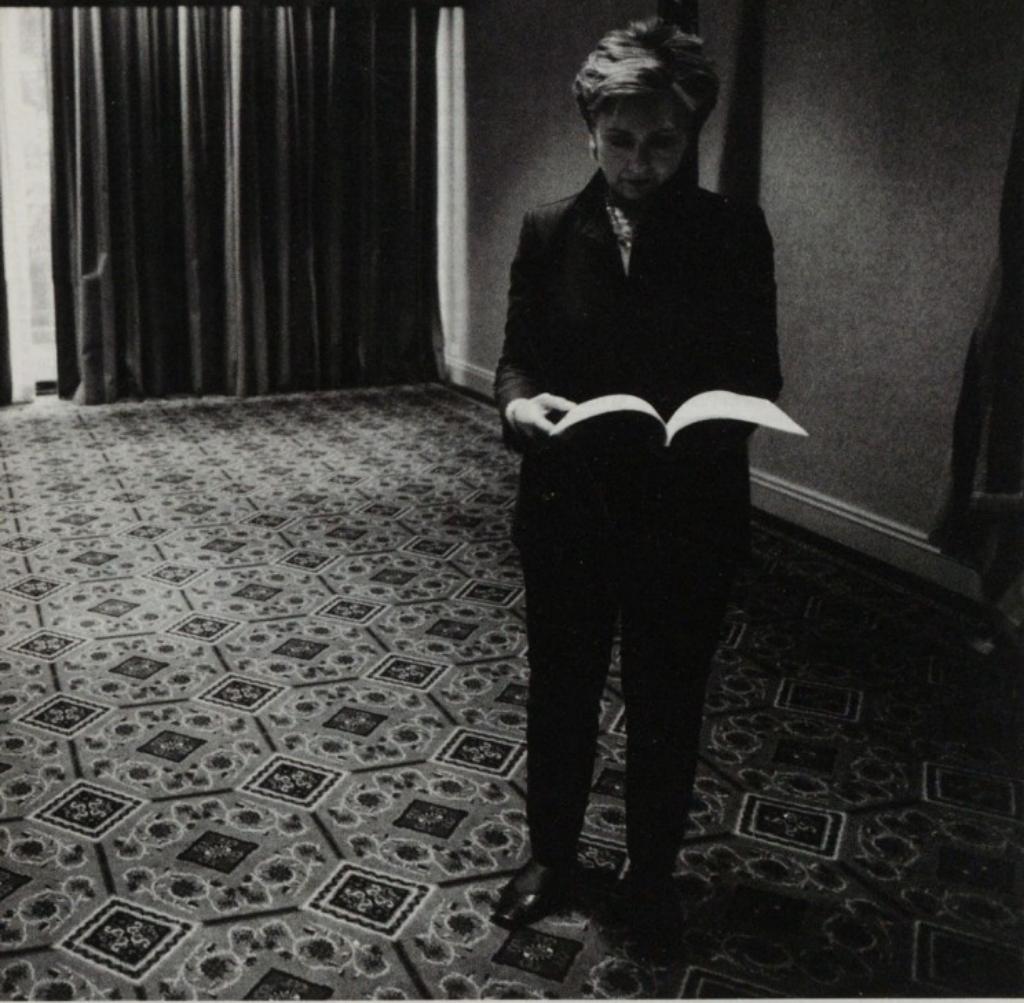
mind, judging from the deafening applause.

Americans, it turns out, have good memories of the Clinton presidency. In the *TIME* poll, two-thirds said they have a favorable view of that time, and Bill's job-approval rating was 70%, nearly twice George W. Bush's. But do they want him wandering the White House with no real job and no accountability? Only 18% said they would like to see him play a major role in a Hillary Clinton White House. Frets a Hillary confidant: "There's always going to be that question, Is

she running on her own, or is she running as his surrogate? If she's going to do this, she's got to do this on her own."

THE HARDWORKING SENATOR

FROM THE BEGINNING, HILLARY HAS MADE sure that her political operation has had her own stamp. There are a few people around from her husband's campaigns, chiefly strategist Mark Penn. But by and large, she has formed a team whose loyalties are to Hillary alone. It is an extraordinarily disci-



plined operation, one in which she does not allow the turf wars and leaking that always kept his in turmoil. But veterans of Bill's campaigns say privately that Hillary's operation is too inflexible and insular for prime time.

In the Senate, Hillary was initially denied the spot she sought on one of the so-called super-A committees—Appropriations, Armed Services, Finance and Foreign Relations. So she went with her expertise, taking a seat on the Health and Education Committee, among others. But she persisted in lob-

bying for better assignments. In 2003 she ditched the Budget Committee, which sounds more important than it is, to take a spot that had opened on Armed Services. She was one of the first in Congress to point out that U.S. forces in Iraq lack the armor they need. After 9/11, she became one of the Senate's loudest voices on homeland security, pointing to lapses in port inspections and voicing early criticism of border protection. She counts as her biggest accomplishment her role in securing \$20 billion in aid for her state in the after-

math of the World Trade Center attacks. More recently, she has taken a lead role in the fight to increase the minimum wage, proposing to tie wage hikes to congressional pay raises.

This year the Republicans couldn't even find a credible candidate to take her on, in no small part because of the inroads she has made in more conservative upstate New York. There are other unlikely places where she has won friends and admirers. When Hillary was first elected, General John Keane, then Vice Chief of Staff of the Army,

sought an audience, hoping to acquaint the new Senator with some of the Army's priorities in her state, including West Point and the perpetually deployed 10th Mountain Division, based at Fort Drum. It didn't entirely surprise him that it took three months to get on her schedule or that, once he did, her staff called his twice to remind him that she couldn't spare more than 15 minutes.

When he finally got in to see her, however, the meeting did not go as he had expected. For starters, it lasted 45 minutes. "She committed immediately to West Point and the 10th Mountain Division, with follow-up on-site visits," he says. "But it was her enormous depth of knowledge about the military and her sincerity about our people which surprised and disarmed me." As First Lady, Hillary told Keane, she had traveled the globe and had often been able to see parts of the world that security prevented her husband from visiting but where the U.S. Army was always present. "She had an extraordinary grasp of our military culture,

will in the end forgo a presidential race and set her sights on rising within the Senate leadership, toward the possibility of becoming the first woman majority leader someday. She has worked to tamp down talk of her national ambition by proving there is no New York concern too parochial to merit her attention. When an Appropriations subcommittee passed a bill that was loaded with goodies for New York recently, Hillary's staff bombarded reporters' e-mail with seven press releases in just over an hour, making sure she got credit for communications equipment for Onondaga and Rockland counties, economic-development assistance for Staten Island, a program for at-risk kids on Long Island, a crime lab for Monroe County and much more.

As Hillary has worked to take the partisan edge off her image, she has also underscored the biggest question voters have about her: What does she really believe in? A First Lady can pick and choose her issues, but as a Senator, Hillary has been forced to take

her own record but also to Bill's. Given the battles he fought to bring his party around to the benefits of globalization, it seemed a repudiation for her to oppose the Bush Administration-approved deal to turn over operations of some U.S. ports to a Dubai-owned company. Never mind that virtually every other Democrat and Republican on Capitol Hill was right where she was in demagoguing as a national-security threat a deal that would have very little impact, if any, on how the ports would be run. And it didn't help her credibility when the *Financial Times* revealed that the emirate—where Bill had been paid \$450,000 in speaking fees in 2002—was getting advice from her husband on how to go forward with the deal even as she was trying to derail it. His aides said that he was not paid for the advice and that he merely told the company it should submit to additional government review. The deal was later scuttled.

Even when Bill doesn't get in her way, Hillary has trouble pulling off what came so naturally to him. "I wish she hadn't come out

against flag burning," says her supporter and funder Rapoport. "The worst mistake she can make is to move to the right. She's going to lose a lot of the enthusiasm of the people who can get her elected." But others point out that by supporting a statute banning flag burning, she helped defeat a more drastic constitutional amendment that would have done the same thing—very much like what her husband did in 1995 when he

produced a balanced budget, horrifying the left with 25% cuts in domestic spending. That helped take the political momentum out of a balanced-budget constitutional amendment. "Do you pretend [an issue] doesn't exist, or do you find a way to beat it?" asks former Clinton White House domestic-policy director Bruce Reed. "The Clintons have always found a way to beat it."

Can they win again? In her memoir, Hillary closed by writing of her final moments in the White House Grand Foyer. The longtime butler there "received my last goodbyes embrace and turned it into a joyous dance. We skipped and twirled across the marble floor," she writes. "My husband cut in, taking me in his arms as we waltzed together down the long hall." A farewell, perhaps. Or maybe the Clintons will yet want to have another dance. —With reporting by Kate Stinchfield/New York

SOME ADVISERS THINK HILLARY WILL SKIP A WHITE HOUSE BID TO TRY TO BECOME THE FIRST WOMAN MAJORITY LEADER



our soldiers, our families and what it was like for them," Keane marvels.

Hillary has succeeded in the Senate by recognizing what everyone expected of her and then proving them wrong. Much has been said of the low profile she keeps to avoid having her celebrity bruise any of the tender egos of her more senior colleagues. She shows up early for committee hearings even though her junior status means she is usually the last one to speak. Even more striking is the way she has reached across party lines—sponsoring foster-care legislation with Tom DeLay, then the House majority leader, and pushing health-care proposals with former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, the Clintons' nemesis in their 1994 effort to reform health care. One of her closest friends in the chamber is South Carolina Republican Lindsey Graham, who came to national attention as one of the House managers of the impeachment of William Jefferson Clinton.

So solid is her standing that some who are close to Hillary tell TIME they believe she

stands in areas that go far beyond the health-care and family issues that Americans have long associated with her. Her voting pattern has tilted liberal, but in *National Journal's* ratings of the five Democratic Senators most often mentioned as presidential contenders, Hillary's record (more liberal than 80.5% of her Senate colleagues, in a computer analysis of key votes) comes down in the middle—less liberal than Kerry (85.7%) but more so than Delaware's Joe Biden (76.8%) and Indiana's Evan Bayh (63.2%).

Some of her positions have been surprising—although not as inconsistent as her critics say. After she called abortion a "sad, even tragic choice" in a January 2005 speech, pundits said she was remaking herself for a presidential race, and liberal groups raised cries of alarm. But in fact, Hillary had made similar comments often in the past. Aides from the 1992 campaign say she helped come up with Bill's signature line that abortion should be "safe, legal and rare."

Whatever she does is held up not only to

To read about the Clintons in Chappaqua, go to time.com/time/chappaqua

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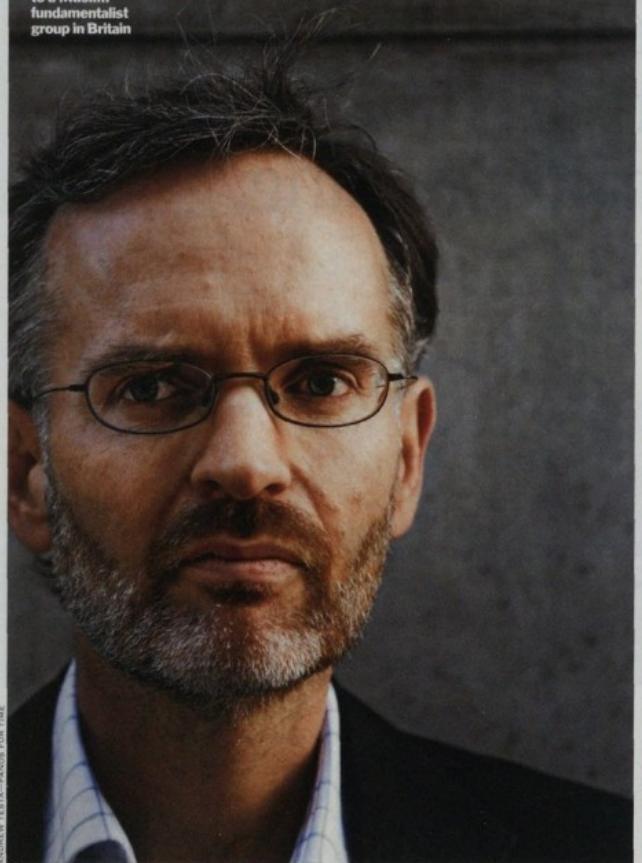
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REBORN

A former Christian, Harwood belongs to a Muslim fundamentalist group in Britain



ANDREW TESTA/PA/ONCE FOR TIME

ALLAH'S RECRUITS

Why more and more Westerners are converting to Islam and, in some cases, pursuing an extremist path

By JUMANA FAROUKY LONDON

JAMAL HARWOOD PRAYS FIVE TIMES A day. He doesn't drink, smoke or eat pork. He's active in his local Muslim community, and he's very serious about the need for an Islamic state. But if you passed him on the street, you would have no idea. Not just because Harwood, a financial consultant in London, wears a suit instead of traditional Muslim dress. Or because he keeps his beard cropped fashionably close. But because he's white.

Born in Vancouver, Harwood used to be a model Christian, studying the Bible, attending church and taking religion classes at school. "But I had certain reservations," he says, "certain question marks in my mind—some theological, some societal—that I wanted to reconcile." He went to Southeast Asia to find himself and explored Islam there. At 25 he settled in London, where friends helped him learn more about the faith. A year later, he converted and soon joined Hizb ut-Tahrir, a political party known for its radical views that is banned in many Muslim countries. Harwood, 45, is now a spokesman for the group; he says it is opposed to terrorism. Although his life choices may make him an object of scrutiny by his government—Hizb ut-Tahrir has been on Britain's watch list since the July 2005 terrorist attacks in London—he has no regrets. "I found that Islam was giving me good, solid answers to my questions," he says. "It wasn't difficult for me to embrace it."

That sentiment rings true for growing numbers of Westerners, reared on other faiths or none at all, who are converting to Islam—despite the fact that relations between the Muslim world and the West have rarely seemed so strained. Although figures on conversions to Islam in Western countries are difficult to nail down, it's safe to say that Muslim converts in the U.S. and Europe number in the hundreds of thousands, and anecdotal evidence suggests the number is on the rise. The arrest of at least three English converts in the plot to blow up passenger jets over the Atlantic has raised the troubling possibility that jihadist groups may be drawing some of their most committed operatives from the pool of new believers. "When converts are trying to find their way in their new religion, they are vulnerable to the influence of extremists," says Didier-Yacine Beyens, former president of Belgium's Muslim Executive and a convert. "They can sometimes be per-

suaed by radical preachers who claim to represent the 'true' voice of Islam, when in fact they represent nothing of the sort."

The vast majority of converts are, like the vast majority of Muslims, moderates who reject the extremism espoused by al-Qaeda and its ilk. But as with any religion, converts to Islam tend to be more devout than those born into the faith. And it's indisputable that some converts do, in fact, become terrorists, including shoe-bomb suspect Richard Reid; Jose Padilla, the Chicago native arrested four years ago for involvement in an alleged al-Qaeda plot to detonate a radiological bomb; and Germaine Lindsay, a Jamaican-born Briton who was one of the suicide bombers who attacked the London Underground last summer. "Originally, jihadist groups were suspicious of converts because they saw them as a way for intelligence forces to infiltrate," says Gustavo de Aristegui, a Spanish terrorism expert and the author of *Jihad in Spain*. "But they're realizing that... someone with a Western last name and blue eyes is going to raise fewer suspicions. Converts can be virtually impossible to detect, especially if they have not revealed their conversion to their family."

So why do they do it? In this day and age, what kind of person is prone to explore religious conversion? And what is the attraction of Islam? The three British converts arrested two weeks ago have three things in common: all are men, all are described by people who know them as friendly, regular guys, and all are in their 20s. But the similarities pretty much end there. According to accounts from friends, Don Stewart-Whyte, who changed his name to Abdul Waheed, converted six months ago, giving up drugs and alcohol. He grew a beard, shaved his head and started wearing traditional Islamic dress. Friends say Brian Young, who is of West Indian descent, was troubled by the decadence of Western society. Oliver Savant, now called Ibrahim, has been a Muslim for some seven years and, friends say, never mentioned politics. "He just talked about soccer and general chitchat," says a friend.

The reasons converts give for making the change vary widely. But one common refrain is that in an increasingly secular world in which society's rules get looser by the day, Islam provides a detailed moral map covering everything from friendships to protecting the environ-

ment. And for Western youths, taking up Islam can also serve as an outlet for rebellion. A majority of converts, especially in Western Europe, are in their late teens or 20s. "Islam is a kind of refuge for those who are downtrodden and disenfranchised because it has become the religion

"submission to God," believers hold that everyone is born Muslim), and it's mainly a matter of uttering a two-line declaration of faith, the Shahadah. Say the Shahadah aloud in Arabic, and the conversion is complete.

But being newcomers to the faith doesn't spare converts from the suspicions and pressures faced by Muslims in the West today. Ali Khan, the national director of the American Muslim Council in Chicago, says he once had to convince a recent convert's wife, who wasn't Muslim, that her husband wouldn't suddenly become a terrorist. "A lot of their families freak out at first," Khan says. He says another convert had to reassure his brother, who asked, "You're not going to kill me in my sleep, are you?" And yet there's little evidence that negative perceptions of Islam—fewer than 20% of Americans say they have a positive image of the religion, according to one poll—have had any effect on the rate of conversion. Instead, since 9/11, some mosques have seen a jump in the number of people converting to Islam. "Awareness of Islam is much greater now, whether positive or negative, than it was prior to September 11," says Khan. "People are becoming curious. Sometimes it starts when they just walk into a bookshop and start reading a Koran after hearing George Bush talking about it."

Ultimately, the path that most converts choose will be determined by the outcome of the larger struggle within Islam, between the forces of moderation and extremism. Abdulla, 22, a tall, bearded Londoner of Ghanaian descent, was a devout Christian until a university friend introduced him to Islam. "I started researching more about it to try and find its faults," he says. "But I couldn't, and I was captured." Abdulla (who won't give his last name) officially converted eight months ago. He supports equality for women and condemns terrorism, but he acknowledges that his perspective on the world is still taking shape. "These are my views, and you must understand they might not be correct because I'm always in need of guidance." The challenge for the West is to make sure men like Abdulla get the right kind. —With reporting by Lisa Abend and Geoff Pingree/Madrid, Theunis Bates, Jessica Carsen and Adam Smith/London, Jeremy Caplan/New York, Leo Cendrowicz/Brussels and Grant Rosenberg/Paris



MASS APPEAL

British Muslims,
above, pray at a
mosque. Converts
Reid and Stewart-
Whyte, right, are
suspected of links
to radical Islamists

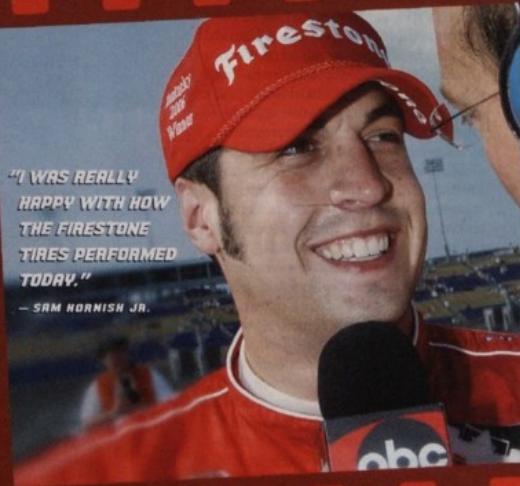


of the oppressed," says Farhad Khosrokhavar, a Paris professor and the author of several books on Muslim extremism. "Previously—say, 20 years ago—they may have chosen communism or gone to leftist ideologies. Now Islam is the religion of those who fight against imperialism, who are treated unjustly by the arrogant Western societies and so on."

There's another appeal to converting to Islam: it's relatively easy. In Catholicism and Judaism, the conversion process can involve years of preparation and study. In Islam, the process is called reversion (because *islam* literally means

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Andrew Lee Butters/Tibnine

Reconstruction Wars

As Lebanon's army gets back in the game, a new battle begins—to win the peace

IT'S EITHER HEARTENING or slightly worrisome—or both—that the most dramatic thing the Lebanese Army did last week was cross a bridge. The Qasmiya Bridge lies 30 miles south of Beirut, at the main crossing point over the Litani River on the coastal road from Sidon. The bridge was destroyed by an Israeli air strike on July 12, the first day of the war in Lebanon. Working furiously for 48 hours, army engineers finished rebuilding the bridge just a few hours before the first tractor trailer carrying armored vehicles rumbled over. The bridge bowed but held, and Lebanon's army soon took symbolic possession of territory it hasn't controlled since the 1960s.

After a month on the sidelines of the war between Israel and Hezbollah, the Lebanese Army—like the government itself—is in a race to restore its authority over a ravaged country. The U.S. wants the army, rather

than the U.N. troops following behind it, to take the lead in disarming Hezbollah and pushing the group's fighters away from the border with Israel. But that may never happen. To a *TIME* correspondent following the 11th Brigade as it moved up into the hardscrabble hills above Tyre, it was clear that the army's job will be largely symbolic and humanitarian. With cold war-era equipment—tin-pot helmets and clunky M-16 rifles that looked as if they had served in Vietnam—the units aren't a match for either Israel or Hezbollah. Locals who gathered along the road to welcome the army as it passed agreed. "It's great that the army is here," says Hassan Hashim, owner of the Sunset, a bombed-out restaurant in Tibnine, where the 11th Brigade set up headquarters. "But the only ones who can stop the Jews are Hezbollah."

Right now, though, most Lebanese have more pressing

concerns. The army's journey south revealed a landscape of ruin. The tobacco-farm country around Tibnine, a hill town about 10 miles from the Israeli border, is like a slide show of destruction—scorched earth, leveled homes, torched gas stations—shot in a gray scale of cement dust and summer haze. While refugees have flooded back into other areas of Lebanon, only the brave or desperate have returned to these parts, which are still strewn with unexploded bombs, many of them from anti-personnel cluster munitions. "There are thousands of these out there," says a Lebanese military intelligence officer in Tibnine as he holds up a defused cluster bomb. "If you go out to pick tobacco right now, you've got a good chance of dying."

Having claimed victory in the war with Israel, Hezbollah is already mobilizing to win the peace. Almost as soon as the cease-fire went into effect last Monday, Hezbollah leader Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah went on television to promise that the Party of God would give \$10,000 to all those whose homes were damaged or destroyed and that Hezbollah would rebuild or repair the homes itself. And Nasrallah's

NEWCOMERS A Lebanese soldier heralds the army's arrival on a bridge over the Litani River

aides have dispatched a corps of engineers to survey war-torn areas. Its members show up wearing Hezbollah yellow vests and matching baseball caps that say JIHAD OF CONSTRUCTION.

The rebuilding effort is shaping up as a proxy battle for influence in the Middle East. Oil-rich Sunni Arabs who are worried about the rise of Hezbollah and other militant Shi'ite groups in Iran and Iraq don't want to lose Lebanon. (Many of them have summer homes here.) The Saudis have already provided \$1 billion in emergency funds to Lebanon's central banks and an additional \$500 million in reconstruction aid to the Lebanese government. The rebuilding frenzy could provide an opportunity for the U.S. to improve its tarnished reputation with the Lebanese people. So far, the U.S. has pledged \$50 million in humanitarian assistance, but few expect American efforts to have much impact. "This is going to be a very politicized reconstruction," says an officer from a U.S.-based aid group. To deliver aid effectively, "we have to work through existing institutions, but in the parts of Lebanon that need the most help, Hezbollah is the only institution."

Washington isn't alone in being wary of getting too involved. Although many countries are willing to throw money at Lebanon's problems, few seem inclined to make more serious commitments. The news that France—Lebanon's closest ally in the West—would increase its force by just 200 soldiers to help the Lebanese Army take control of the south provoked dismay in Beirut. "We thought they were going to send thousands," says a Lebanese military expert. "This means they don't think it's safe." With Israeli commandos raiding a Hezbollah stronghold in the Bekaa Valley on Saturday and Israeli drones still flying over Beirut and Hezbollah ready to reload, it's hard to disagree. ■

THE WAR FOR CHINA'S SOUL

As Christianity begins to reshape the nation, TIME learns new details about a crackdown on one church

By SIMON ELEGANT NANJING

SEVERAL WEEKS AFTER THE ATTACK, the witness is still trembling. "Everyone knew trouble was coming," the man says, describing the day last month that haunts him still. A fit-looking forty-something wearing a T shirt and jeans, the man was a volunteer working on a half-completed church in a suburb of Hangzhou, a picturesque lakeside city 112 miles southwest of Shanghai. Financed by local Christians, the church was to serve a community of 5,000 parishioners. Hundreds of them gathered at the site on the afternoon of July 29, some joining the construction crew building the church. Others, many of them elderly parishioners, sat on plastic chairs surrounding the church, singing hymns.

The Christians surely knew they were testing the patience of local government officials, who insisted the building was illegal and had to be torn down. But few were prepared for what happened next. Witnesses told TIME that at about 2:30 p.m., thousands of uniformed police and plainclothes security officers appeared at the construction site. The police cleared a way through the crowds for a few drill-equipped backhoes, and the authorities then demolished the church. Witnesses say police bludgeoned people indiscriminately with nightsticks. "They were picking up women—some of them old ladies—by their hair and swinging them around like dolls, then letting them crash to the ground," says a man who watched the clash from across the street. A statement faxed to TIME by the information office of the Xiaoshan district government describes the scene differently, claiming that about 100 Christians "attacked and injured government officials" and that although the police detained a few protesters, none were injured. But the volunteer interviewed by

TIME produced receipts from the local hospital attesting to his treatment for broken ribs, which he says many others suffered as well. "They treated us like dead dogs," he says. "Some of them scoffed at us as we lay there, saying, 'Where is your God now? Why can't he help you? If you want to go to heaven, we'll help you get there right now!'"

The crackdown in Hangzhou may seem unremarkable for a country where a public demonstration of any kind can still trigger a brutal government response. For openly religious Chinese, in particular, that's a constant threat. Human-rights groups regularly report cases of harassment, temporary detention and even long-term imprisonment of priests and their followers. But the Hangzhou episode is also unmistakable evidence that Christianity is transforming Chinese society.

After four failed attempts over a millennium and a half by foreign missionaries to gain a foothold in China, Christianity is finally taking root and evolving into a truly Chinese religion. Estimates vary, but some experts say Christians make up 5% of China's population, or 65 million believers. And thousands more are converting every day, the vast majority through unofficial "house" churches like the one that sparked the clash in Hangzhou. "Politically, China hasn't changed at all," says Dennis Balcombe, who has spent the past three decades evangelizing in China from his base in Hong Kong. "But as far as religion is concerned, it is much, much freer."

FAITH UNDERGROUND

▲ Chinese Christians worship at a "house" church in central China. Local ministries outside the control of Beijing's state-run churches are bringing in thousands of new believers every day





SCENES FROM A DEMOLITION

▼ Photos taken by Christians at the site show locals gathered near a church under construction in Hangzhou before security forces moved in. Witnesses say police beat people and reduced the church to rubble.



The flowering of Chinese Christianity reflects a wider religious awakening. Long criticized by Western governments and human-rights groups for its virulently anti-religious policies, China's central government has in recent years adopted a more lenient attitude toward religious expression. Traditionally, the Communist Party allowed membership in five officially approved religions: Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Protestant Christianity and Catholicism. Anything falling outside those groups was officially shunned. Even those adhering to "approved" religions have to register to worship in churches and temples approved by the state. But those rules are becoming harder to

enforce. These days, Chinese flock to everything from mystical Taoist sects to huge, prosperous Buddhist temples and spiritually based exercise and meditation systems.

The growth of spirituality poses a challenge for China's ruling class, which pays little more than lip service to communist ideology but still strives to control its restive populace. Faced with a social phenomenon that would use up huge amounts of time, manpower and international goodwill to curb, Beijing's cadres have decided to tolerate the new churches so long as they keep a low profile. The more outspoken and organized such groups become, however, the greater the threat they pose to the authority

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of the Communist Party. For the moment, that influence is confined to local issues related to their faith, such as church building and education. But observers say the challenge could grow, as churches continue to spread out of the countryside and into the cities, where they draw from the ranks of the rapidly growing middle class. "If you look at Chinese history, all the rebellions that led to change of dynasty had some religious connotations," says Jean-Paul Wiest, an expert in the history of Christianity in China who teaches at Beijing's University of International Business and Economics. "The authorities don't like that."

There may not be much they can do about it. Across the country, Christians are worshipping with a fervor once unimaginable in a communist society. Take the service held at 10 o'clock on a recent Sunday morning in China's booming southern city of Shenzhen. Some 40 people are crowded into the living room of a small two-bedroom apartment. The regulars call the place the Home of Love, and like the majority of Chinese Christians, they worship in private because they can't—or won't—register with the government-controlled official Protestant Church, the so-called Three-Self Church (the church's name refers to its three guiding principles of self-reliance). The cries of hawkers selling vegetables and fruits in the alleyway below drift through the grimy windows, but the worshippers have eyes only for the front of the room, where a plump, middle-aged preacher in a tight gray suit stands at a small lectern. Behind him is a large wooden cross draped with a white cotton cloth. Several pictures of Jesus hang on the walls, and Chinese characters phonetically spelling out Emanuel—"Yi-man-nei-yi"—frame an archway.

Because of fears that officers from the Public Security Bureau might disrupt the proceedings, which are illegal, services in house churches are often low-key. Not at the Home of Love. The congregation starts by belting out a series of hymns to an accompanying sound track booming out of several large loudspeakers. After the singing, the preacher launches into a sermon extolling the growth of Christianity in China. Then he steps among the tightly packed worshippers, holding their heads and praying over them, chanting what would sound to most Chinese like gibberish. Soon most of the room has joined him in fervent, noisy prayer, many swaying back and forth, eyes

squeezed shut, moaning, shouting, wailing. One woman repeats over and over, "Oh mashalah, oh Yesu, oh mashalah, oh Yesu, oh Yesu, oh Yesu." (*Yesu* is Jesus; *mashalah* seems to mean nothing.) The woman's face is clenched in ecstasy; tears run down her cheeks.

So far, the government hasn't done much to halt the spread of such hothouses of faith. But that may be changing, as evidenced by the assault on the Hangzhou church. The mandarins in Beijing have always reserved special venom for groups they label *xie jiao*, or evil cults. The most famous is the brutally suppressed Falun Gong movement, but the authorities may be tempted to

tian, a fact that gives the church leaders much greater authority in confronting local party officials. In 2002, for example, a campaign of protests and appeals to Beijing led to the reversal of a city government decision to ban Sunday-school teaching. In Hangzhou, local officials say the clash—about which TIME was the first to hear eyewitness accounts—stemmed from the church builders' long-running defiance of government regulations. The county government's statement contends that three alternative sites had been offered to the Christian community's representatives but were refused by church leaders.

Chinese authorities insist that they are not hostile to religion as long as it is practiced according to their rules. At officially sanctioned churches like St. Paul's in Nanjing, a near puritanical attention to order is maintained. There are rows of wooden pews, a pulpit from which the sermon is preached, even a signboard on which hymn numbers are posted. The pastor of St. Paul's, Kan Renping, 38, says his congregation has grown from a few hundred when he took over in 1994 to some 5,000 regular worshippers today. Many have to watch the proceedings on remote TV from four satellite chapels in a nearby building. Despite the growth, Kan isn't a proselytizer. "Anyone is welcome to come in and have a chat with me about religion," he says. "But if people want to come in and talk politics, that we don't like. We only want to concentrate on religion here."

In the long run, though, government attempts to circumscribe how people practice their faith seem unlikely to succeed—and could well spark more unrest. It's telling that even in the face of such crackdowns, some Chinese Christians say they are confident that they will eventually win the freedom to practice their faith as they choose. Brother Chow (not his real name) is one. He is every inch the model of the modern Chinese Christian, a preacher who doubles as a businessman. Despite his pressed jeans, polo shirt and fancy mobile phone, he professes to believe in a deep, ancient faith, one that he says has carried many a Christian through persecution. "Why don't I think it will be a problem? Because as time goes on, the government will get to know the Christian spirit and realize that God exists." He smiles with the secret knowledge of a true believer. "And then," he says, "they will become Christians too."



DEVOTION A parishioner reads from a Bible. In some locales, church leaders wield more authority than state officials

of self-reliance).

The cries of hawkers selling vegetables and fruits in the alleyway below drift through the grimy windows, but the worshippers have eyes only for the front of the room, where a plump, middle-aged preacher in a tight gray suit stands at a small lectern. Behind him is a large wooden cross draped with a white cotton cloth. Several pictures of Jesus hang on the walls, and Chinese characters phonetically spelling out Emanuel—"Yi-man-nei-yi"—frame an archway.

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extend that label to the Christian sects that are growing the fastest—those practicing fervid forms of worship that stress miracles and personal inspiration through prayer. A number of cultlike, pseudo-Christian offshoots have sprung up in the Chinese countryside in recent years, apparently inspired by this ecstatic form of worship. Often spawned by the personal ambition of their leaders, these highly secretive groups usually espouse millenarian views that make the authorities profoundly nervous. Members of a sect called the Three Grades of Servants were convicted earlier this year in Heilongjiang province on 20 murder charges, involving attacks on its main rival, Eastern Lightning, a sect that relies on kidnapping and beating to make converts. One of its central aims is the overthrow of the "Great Red Dragon," a thinly disguised reference to Beijing.

Although Christians tend not to see themselves as revolutionaries, house churches have become one of China's few bulwarks against government power. In Wenzhou, a city in coastal Zhejiang province known among Chinese Christians as "China's Jerusalem," 15% to 20% of the population is Chris-

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GLOBAL BUSINESS

TIME

BONUS SECTION

African Americans used to visit Africa only **TO CONNECT** with the past. Now they land with investment dollars and business skills

Ghana's New Money



Chicago native Idris Osei-Agyeman, right, went to Ghana last year to uncover his roots and invest in his future and start a 36-acre mango farm

PHOTOGRAPH FOR TIME
BY KATRINA WITTKAMP



BY TA-NEHISI PAUL COATES

IT TOOK ANITA BRYANT AND ERIEKA BENNETT ALL OF A DAY LAST MAY to earn their commission on what was supposed to have been a three-week gig. Together, Bryant and Bennett run the Bridge, a consultancy that helps African Americans who would like to invest in Africa navigate the continent's folkways, and they were trying hard to shepherd a delegation filled with prominent clients through Ghana without mishap. The delegation was celebrating the signing of a sister-city agreement between Washington and Accra. And while most of the entourage was excited about visiting the capital, no one would have mistaken them for ambassadors of Ghanaian culture.

Some delegates complained about the length of the tour. Others, having been honored with gifts of land and gold, never bothered to say thank you. Then when Bennett took the group to see the Asantehene—the king of Ghana's storied Ashanti tribe—there was little deference shown. A woman who was introduced to the king asked him for a glass of water and tried to sit next to him. "When you do business in Africa, you really need to know what to do," says Bryant. "You never shake someone's hand with your left. When you enter a room, you wait to be told where to sit."

It's an amazing kind of cultural clash if you think about it. Bryant set up her company two years ago, after she noticed the number of African Americans investing in Ghana was on the increase. And now those black Americans—successful entrepreneurs and corporate managers—were being told to kiss some royal butt. Ghana, a major source of human cargo during the slave trade, has been a favored destination for African Americans since it won independence from Britain in 1957. Those who make the pilgrimage often talk of an epic search for their roots and a grand narrative of Pan-Africanism. But increasingly, it's trade, investment and entrepreneurship anchoring those high ideals.



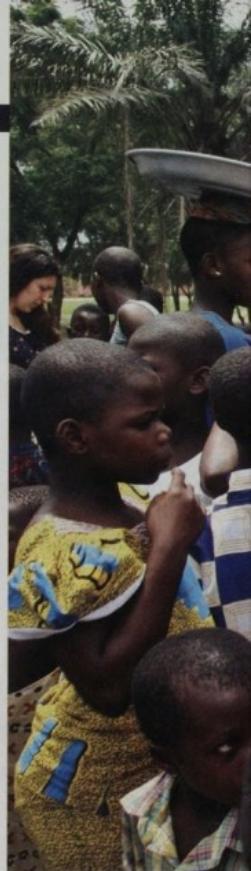
Ghana's President John Kufuor has aggressively courted his country's long-lost cousins. Ghanaian government officials are contemplating a bill that would grant dual citizenship to African Americans who invest in Ghana or maintain a home there. Some native Ghanaians in the U.S. have started organizing tours for African-American businessmen. When they arrive, the guests are usually showered with gifts, and sometimes they are made honorary chiefs.

But the visitors are occasionally confronted by Ghanaians who regard them not as far-flung family but simply as foreigners. The Ghanaian government is working to change that attitude mostly because in African Americans they see investment possibilities and start-up capital that this country badly needs. Although Ghana is in much better shape than many other African countries, its GDP is \$9.4 billion, or about \$420 per capita, which ranks below most Asian countries. "The potential for economic impact is very significant," says Jake Obetsebi-Lamptey, Ghana's Minister for Tourism and Diasporan Relations. "As you look around now, you see the role African Americans are playing in the corporate world, as mechanical engineers, architects, doctors—right across the gamut."

The two communities are meeting at an interesting point in their respective histories. Since the U.S. civil rights movement, the black middle class has ballooned. The entrepreneurial spirit among African Americans is acute. In April, the Census Bureau reported that from 1997 to 2002, the number of black-owned businesses in the U.S. grew 45%.

Ghana is increasingly a target for foreign investment. It is democratic and rela-

◀ Boyd, in her Accra office, struggled at first; she started out working 15-hour days and had annual sales of \$40,000



Early this year, the



Boyd, leading a group through Torgome, owns a tour company and an Avis car-rental franchise. Sales in 2005: \$1.3 million

World Bank named Ghana the friendliest country in West Africa to do business in

tively stable, a rarity in a region historically marked by thieving autocrats. In February, the World Bank named Ghana the friendliest country in West Africa to do business in. The country routinely attracts investment from the Netherlands, Malaysia and China. Overall, foreign direct investment in Ghana has more than tripled since 1998, from \$45 million to \$145 million. "The world is a global place," says Obetsebi-Lamptey. "We're not saying African-American investment instead of Chinese investment. We are saying African-American investment as well."

For those who invest in Ghana, the going can be rough. In 1993, Mona Boyd and her Ghanaian husband rented out their brownstone in Boston and moved to Ghana. They created Land Tours Ghana, a business specializing in guiding tourists through the country. Boyd, 55, now Land Tour's CEO, had visited Ghana before but had never done business in the country. She found that her go-go, type-A American personality was a poor fit with the laid-back spirit of most Ghanaians.

Still, Boyd worked 15-hour days and got a few breaks—when President Bill Clinton visited the country in 1998, Land

Tours was contracted to show the presidential entourage around. Land Tours now has 52 employees and an Avis franchise. In the company's first year, Boyd's sales totaled \$40,000. She brought in \$1.3 million last year. Boyd says she'd like to help the new wave of African Americans looking to do business in Ghana. "If I had had someone to lead me through the process here, I think I would have had a lot less anxiety and stress," says Boyd. "If you are here with \$50,000 and a business plan and put your nose to the grindstone, you will succeed."

For Idris Osei-Agyeman, 29, investing in Ghana was even more personal than for most African Americans because his father is Ghanaian. That side of Osei-Agyeman's family has worked as farmers for generations—a tradition broken only when his father emigrated to the U.S. to go to college on a track scholarship. Osei-Agyeman returned to the family last year, took out a 70-year land lease on 36 acres in Ghana's eastern region and converted it into a mango farm. "I wanted to go back on my own and get into farming, and when I ran the numbers, a mango farm seemed to be the best return," he says.



Mango plantations like this one can be sold to foreign investors and managed by local Ghanaians

Once a major slave center, Ghana is a favored destination of African Americans

Osei-Agyeman still lives in his native Chicago, where he works in real estate investment, but two to three times a year he makes a monthlong visit to Ghana. On each trip he is sure to take a few African-American friends. "African Americans are coming from a nation that most developing nations are trying to emulate," says Osei-Agyeman.

According to Valerie Papaya Mann, president of the African American Association of Ghana, there are approximately 5,000 African Americans living in Ghana. Mann sees tangible benefits from dual citizenship, like voting rights and land ownership, but much of her case is rooted in other things. "We're saying, as African Americans who were taken from these shores hundreds of years ago, we also should have the rights to dual citizenship," she says.

Yet in what may be one of history's great paradoxes, many native Ghanaians regard African Americans as more white than black. Africans Americans, especially those with fairer skin, are sometimes referred to as *obruni* by Ghanaians. The term roughly



▲ Agriculture represents more than a third of Ghana's GDP and employs 60% of its workforce

translates as "white person" or "stranger," depending on whom you ask. The result is that African Americans who would like to think of Ghana as home sometimes get the cold shoulder. The government has started a campaign to get Ghanaians to use the term *akwaaba anyemi*—which means "welcome home, brother"—when talking to African Americans. Just fake the sincerity, in other words. (It works in the U.S., doesn't it?) Obetsebi-Lamptey says the new measure isn't just about investment but also about healing old wounds. But not all African Americans are so thin skinned. "It is not derogatory. It's more like foreigner," says Blanche Agyemang, who owns a bakery in Accra. "Wherever you go, unfortunately, you're going to be a foreigner if you're not a native of that place."

Stateside, Ghanaians who have emigrated to America have taken up that call. Samuel Akainyah, an art teacher and gallery owner, last year pulled together a group of 40 Chicago-area

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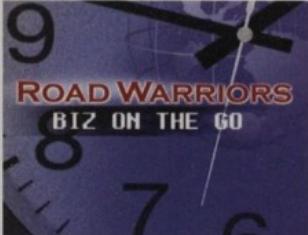
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TIME GLOBAL BUSINESS

(africa)



▲ Agyemang left the U.S. with her Ghanaian husband. In 1990 she opened Bake Shop Classics in Accra and now makes cakes for royalty

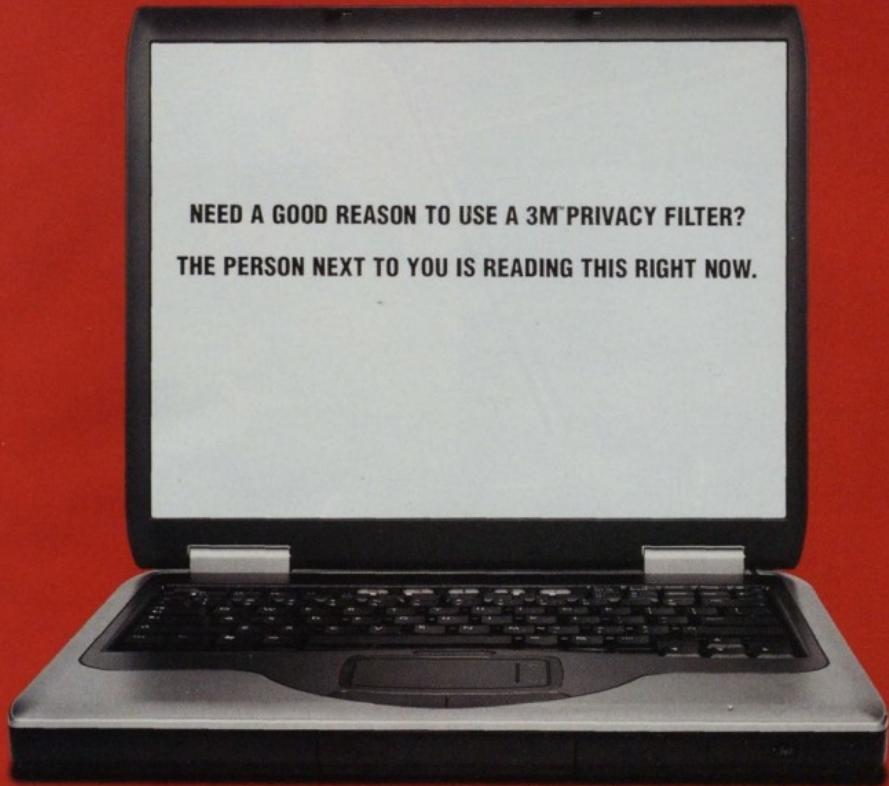
African-American businessmen and -women and took them on a 10-day trip to Ghana. The group was received by the President and the Ghanaian business community and then given a tour of the country. "It's a mutual benefit," says Akainyah. "We benefit from the technology and the investment, and African Americans with the entrepreneurial impulse find a fertile market to make money."

Willie Carrington, who accompanied Akainyah on the trip, runs Carrington & Carrington Ltd., a firm that specializes in connecting big business with minority executives. When Carrington arrived in the Ashanti region, the aristocrats liked him so much that they named him the Agona Nkosuhene—developmental chief—for the region. When he returned to Chicago, members of the local Ghanaian community began visiting Carrington regularly, instructing him on how to dress and conduct himself during state functions.

The rehearsals are more than empty ritual. Carrington worked for Arthur Andersen for a few years, and his firm has done business with such big companies as Boeing and Raytheon. The thought is that Carrington would be able to leverage some of his contacts into investment in Ghana's Ashanti region.

Still, there are moments, says Carrington, when the two cultures don't exactly mesh. When functioning in an official capacity, Carrington has a tribal "linguist" on hand who acts as his mouthpiece. One day, while entertaining a group of Ghanaian friends at his home, Carrington decided to demonstrate his grasp of Ashanti traditions. "I told [the linguist] to tell my wife to get me a glass of water," says Carrington, laughing. She was sitting next to him. Her answer did not require the assistance of linguists. "I learned that you have to know when to be Ghanaian and when to be American." —With reporting by Kwasi Kpodo and Adam Graham-Silverman/Accra

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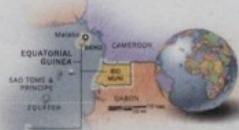
Why an oil-and-gas giant is especially well suited to tackling a mosquito-borne disease

BY CHRISTINE GORMAN

WHAT'S AN OIL COMPANY'S RETURN ON INVESTMENT FOR FIGHTING malaria? A lot higher than you'd think. Outside the Middle East, many of the world's reserves of petroleum and natural gas are located in Central and Western Africa, where malaria takes a particularly horrific toll. By the most conservative estimates, the mosquito-borne disease kills 1 million people in Africa each year—most of them children—and it hurts businesses by sapping the energy of hundreds of millions of adults.

So when Marathon Oil decided in 2002 to expand its natural-gas operations to Bioko (pop. 250,000), just off the coast of Equatorial Guinea, company managers focused their attention on the region's crippling malaria rate. Marathon concluded that protecting only its employees and contractors wouldn't be enough. Because mosquitoes will bite anybody and Marathon expects the island facility to be productive for 40 years or more, the company adopted a more ambitious goal: it is working with its business partner Noble Energy, nonprofit organizations and the Equatoguinean government to stop transmission of the disease on the island within five years.

Together, Marathon and its partners developed a comprehensive \$12 million plan that targeted mosquitoes and called for improvements in medical care. Because infected mosquitoes tend to bite at night, when people are home, an indoor spraying program using the pesticide bendiocarb was launched to interrupt the cycle of transmission. (Small amounts of the chemical are applied directly to walls where mosquitoes like to linger.) At the same time, the Ministry of Health of Equatorial Guinea introduced the use of artemisinin-based combination therapy, the new standard of treatment for malaria in the underdeveloped world.



It's the first time Marathon (2005 revenues: \$63 billion) has ever undertaken a large public-health project, but results have so far exceeded expectations. In just the first two years, the number of infected mosquitoes has fallen 95%, and the number of children 2 to 15 years old with malaria parasites in their blood has dropped from 45% to 26%. (The decline in children lags that of mosquitoes because it takes a while to clear parasites from previous infections.) And malaria cases among Marathon personnel have dropped from 20 to 30 a month to two or three a month.

The results also reflect the value of good data collection and verification—a

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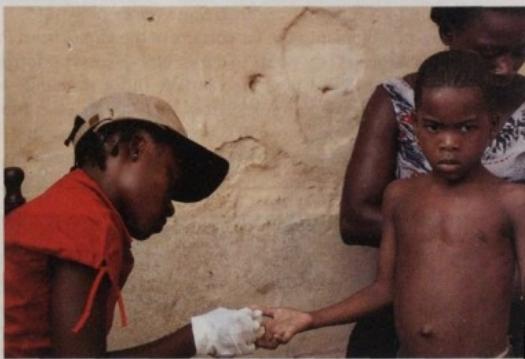


▲ Surveyors collect family medical history and GPS data on handheld wireless devices

To simplify treatment, malaria drugs, above right, are packaged for individual use

◀ Mosquitoes are removed from a window trap. They will be dissected and tested later

► New finger-stick tests detect the malaria parasite quickly, allowing an accurate diagnosis



The number of infected children has dropped from 45% to 26% in two years

core competency in the oil business that translates well in the public-health arena. Satellite imagery like that Marathon used to site its natural-gas processing complex helped determine how the sprayers should organize their visits. Teams of Equatoguineans collect and test mosquitoes from traps in various homes to see where adjustments need to be made. Information about family health, mosquito numbers and geo-positional locations is recorded on the spot with handheld wireless devices and transmitted to a centralized location.

Similarly, and significantly, the government has met the challenge. The Ministry of Health spent most of 2004 creating a patient registry that allows health officials to monitor progress in care and treatment across the island. "We wanted to make sure we understood if the project was working

or not," says Adel Chaouch, Marathon's director of corporate social responsibility.

Just as important was technology transfer: Marathon officials wanted to be certain that the people of Equatorial Guinea would eventually be able to run the project entirely on their own. Although the company turned to Medical Care Development International, a Maryland-based nongovernmental organization, to get the program up and running, the group kept the number of expatriates involved to a minimum. "It was a huge training effort," says Dr. Brian Linder, director of health services for Marathon. "The idea is to build capacity and sustainability, and you can't do that if you hire it all in."

The broadly collaborative approach is working elsewhere in Africa as well. BHP Billiton (2005 revenues: \$32 billion), an

international petroleum and mining company, joined a similar partnership of businesses, charities and government organizations to decrease malaria rates in southern Mozambique, where the conglomerate has an aluminum smelter.

There's still a lot more to do. Health officials believe that using present-day tools and know-how could cut the malaria death rate in African countries 50%. The President's Malaria Initiative, announced by the Bush Administration in 2005, has pledged \$1.2 billion for the effort over the next five years. For its part, Marathon helped the Equatoguinean government apply for a \$26 million grant from the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria to expand the campaign to the rest of Equatorial Guinea. Clearly it is a good policy for business—and even better for people.

The Allure of Over There

Developing markets can be a bit of a roller coaster. But that's not stopping investors from sending billions of dollars abroad

BY BARBARA KIVIAT

EMERGING MARKETS HAVE BEEN ALL THE rage the past few years, with U.S. investors plowing billions of dollars into the far corners of the globe, from Pakistan to Peru. If you take a look at how some of those regions have performed, it's no wonder. The iShares MSCI Emerging Markets Index exchange-traded fund (ETF), which tracks a basket of stocks from such countries as Taiwan, South Africa, Turkey and Poland, is up 89% over the past two years. That trounces the S&P 500's 18% gain. A dip in stocks worldwide this spring shook emerging



markets the hardest—India dropped 29%, Egypt 37%—but even that falloff didn't dampen the enthusiasm more than temporarily. According to AMG Data Services, money moved into emerging-market mutual funds and ETFs at the rate of \$3 billion to \$5 billion a month in the quarter leading up to the correction. Those funds lost mon-

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(global investing)

ey in the May and June swoon, but by the beginning of August, they were again taking in hundreds of millions of dollars a week.

It's hard to paint places as diverse as India, Mexico and Thailand with one brushstroke, but the story on emerging markets generally goes something like this. As economies in certain countries (China, India) take off, others that are rich in natural resources (Brazil, Chile) get pulled along when commodity prices shoot through the roof. Meanwhile, as many countries undergo structural changes, like floating their currencies (South Korea, Indonesia), the idea of investing in places that come with some pretty scary memories (the 1980s Latin American debt defaults, the 1997 East Asian financial crisis) becomes remarkably more palatable.

"There is a lot of positive development outside of the U.S.," says Stuart Schweitzer,

account, which could ultimately weaken the dollar, and the idea of diversifying overseas becomes even more attractive.

But some market watchers point out that the run-up in emerging markets has left stocks pretty darn pricey. The average price-to-book ratio for such equities has been in the neighborhood of 1.5 to 2 since the mid-1990s, says Schweitzer. Today that ratio is closer to 2.25. "We've had a correction," he says, "but they are still expensive relative to their own history." That's part of the reason Schweitzer is currently finding more value for his money in developed markets like Western Europe.

Of course, another cheap entry point may not be around the corner, so long-term investors may want to think less about timing and more about diversification. Financial planners recommend allocating as

investment strategist at Citigroup Global Wealth Management, looks for macroeconomic drivers. The big one historically has been U.S. monetary policy, and domestic interest rates still hold a lot of sway over what happens abroad.

But increasingly other factors, like the combination of low wages and high education levels in India and the migration of human talent to Singapore, determine where capital flows. Winter also points out that in markets where corporate structure remains cloudy—China is a prime example—investors can more safely tap some of the excitement by owning multinationals. "You don't have to buy local stocks to do this," he says. A quarter of Procter & Gamble's sales come from emerging markets, for example, and China alone accounts for 14% of revenues at Anglo-Australian mining giant Rio

Investors can more safely tap the excitement by owning multinationals

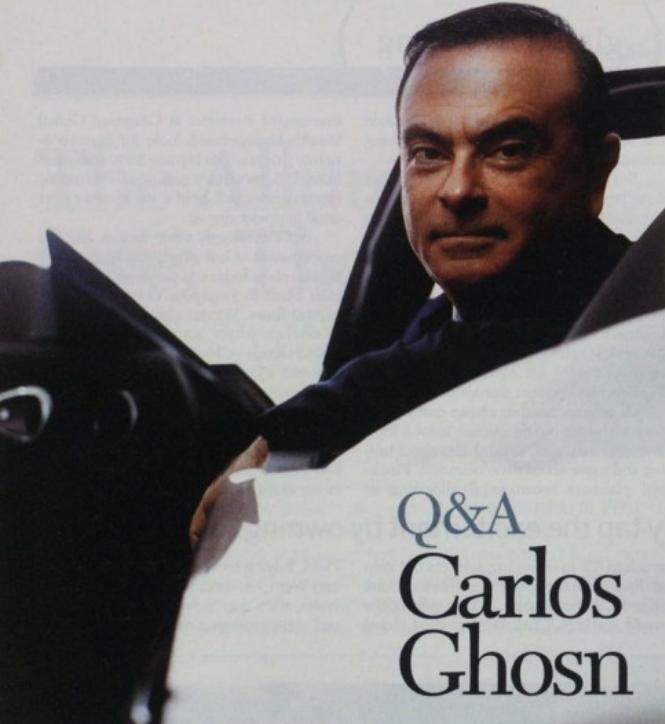
managing director and global-markets strategist at JPMorgan Asset & Wealth Management. Add in the specter of towering deficits in the U.S. budget and current

much as 5% to emerging markets but generally no more, considering the risk (think Nigeria or Venezuela). When culling the world markets, Clark Winter, chief global

Tinto. Buying more-established companies may seem less exotic, but for a cautious investor, it's a way to wade into the shallow end of the emerging-markets pool. ■



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Q&A Carlos Ghosn

How are Nissan and Renault positioned in an age of slow growth and high-cost fuels?

Both companies are well positioned in front of this evolution because, if we take them continent by continent, in North America, Nissan has a complete line of smaller cars. So if there is a shift, Nissan has all the products necessary to absorb this shift or contribute to this shift with the multiplication of new products in the smaller segments: like the Versa, which was launched last month; like the renewal of the Altima, a very important car, coming in October; like the renewal of the Sentra, which is another important car. In Europe, Renault and Nissan have a very good line-up of smaller fuel-efficient cars, so wherever the market is going, we'll be there. In Japan, thanks to our strategy of establishing cooperation with Suzuki and with Mitsubishi, we can have a good supply of many cars in order to bring our own contribution to the market.

What about developing markets?

Nissan is growing in China; Renault is growing in India. Renault is standing very

well in Russia and increasing its capacity there. And Nissan will establish a new plant in St. Petersburg to be able to sustain its growth in Russia.

Earlier this year, you announced a new growth plan for Renault, selling 800,000 more cars by 2009. That's a lot of growth. I know [laughs]. We have a plan behind it. We have 24 new products coming in the next three years, half of them being an extension of a product offer that, today, these products don't exist. We have a big geographical expansion with the development of our joint venture in India, with the expansion of our plan in Russia, with a big project that we have in Romania mainly for selling to Eastern Europe, and in the Middle East and in the ex-Soviet Union republics and countries.

When you look back, what were the biggest surprises in forming an alliance with Nissan?

The big surprise is how much you can unlock value by just sharing experience and showing existing benchmarks. It's amazing. People will always challenge

The celebrated auto exec says benchmarking is the key to any good alliance

HE IS EASILY THE MOST SOUGHT after automobile executive on the planet. Carlos Ghosn, 52, CEO of both France's Renault and Japan's Nissan, recently began discussions with General Motors about another lineup, one designed to bring GM out of its tailspin. If anyone can do it, the thinking goes, it's Ghosn. Before his GM meeting, Ghosn sat down with TIME'S **BILL Saporito** to talk about cars, corporate cultures and clashes.

you on an idea as long as it has not been concretized by somebody else. Whenever they see somebody doing better than them, and they can measure it, you don't have to spend a lot of time convincing them. They'll do it. Second, it's amazing how much people of different backgrounds and cultures working together can deliver, vs. people of the same culture on the same problem. The solutions are richer, much more innovative and often more powerful because they are completely thinking out of the box and are not determined by any preconceived ideas, as when you are coming from the same culture.

What's the hardest part of an alliance?
The amount of resistance and the amount of discussion you have to have to convince people that diversity is strength, even when every single thing around you proves differently to you that it's better.

How long will it take to make up your mind about an alliance with General Motors?
Not long.

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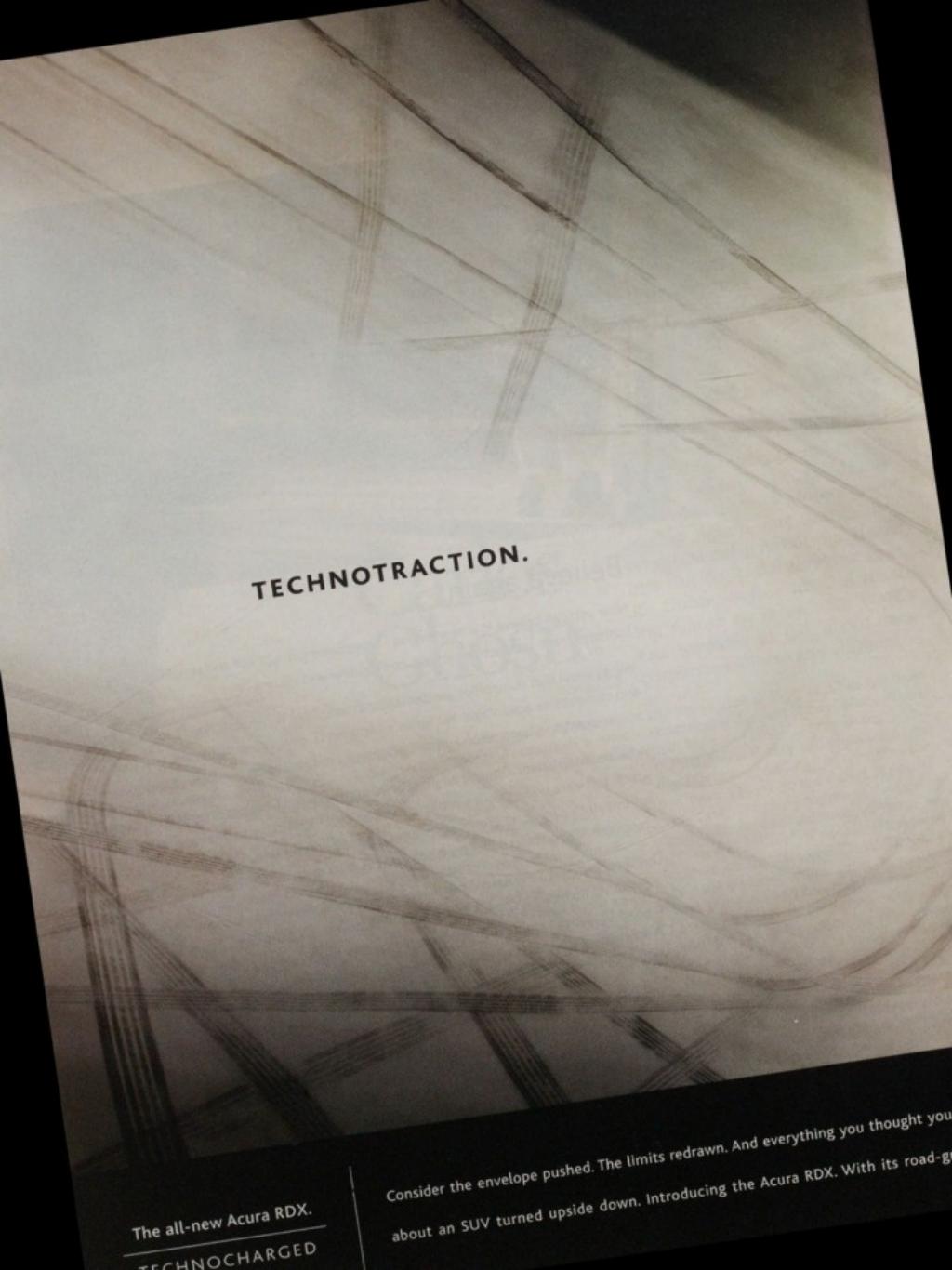
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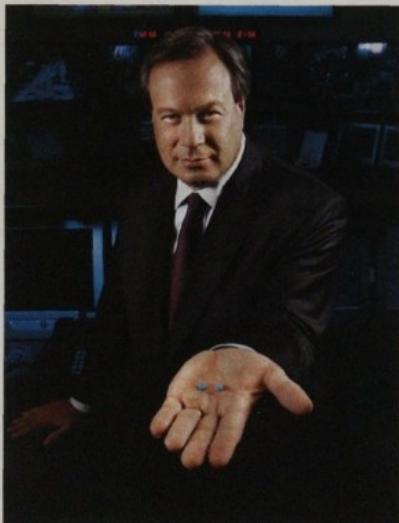
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People to Watch In International Business

Norbert Reithofer >>

CEO, BMW

BMW overtook Mercedes-Benz last year as the car industry's top-selling premium brand. In keeping with BMW's unwritten age limit of 60, production boss Reithofer will replace CEO Helmut Panke on Sept. 1, the day after Panke's 60th birthday. Reithofer obviously has a tough act to follow, since the company expects to top its 2004 record net profit of \$2.7 billion. Reithofer has been the keeper of BMW's flexible production system, considered a model for the car industry. The former head of BMW's South Carolina plant, he is more than familiar with the U.S. market, and he has plans to increase share there. The challenge for BMW will be not only to make cars that are fun to drive but also to increase fuel efficiency, one of the automaker's few weak spots. —By Joseph R. Santo



Jeffrey Kindler <<

CEO, PFIZER

Bosses of pharmaceutical companies tend to have a background in science or medicine. Jeffrey Kindler, 51, took a different path to the top of Pfizer, a position he won in July when Pfizer's board chose him to replace Henry McKinnell. A Harvard-educated lawyer, Kindler represented corporate clients from General Electric to McDonald's before joining Pfizer in 2002. He also did a stint as CEO of McDonald's shaky Boston Market restaurant chain.

So what's a corporate lawyer doing atop the world's largest drug company? Saving it in court. The company is facing a flood of legal challenges. Among them: drugmaker Novo Nordisk recently claimed patent infringements for Pfizer's upcoming inhaled-insulin drug, Exubera, and Pfizer is being sued over Celebrex, its controversial Cox-2 inhibitor pain medication. Bonus points: Kindler knows his way around Washington, which should help Pfizer navigate the regulatory swamp. He has some operations cred too. At McDonald's, he led the turnaround of Boston Market.

Of course, shrewd lawyering won't help Pfizer where it matters most: developing new medicines. Pfizer's biggest product, Lipitor, could lose its patent protection within four years. And Wall Street is losing patience with the pace of new-drug development. Pfizer's share price has slumped more than 30% since 2001. Former CEO McKinnell didn't help matters, appearing aloof to investor concerns while pocketing more than \$140 million during his tenure, including a retirement package worth an estimated \$83 million. Mending fences with shareholders will be critical for Kindler. They are, after all, paying his salary. —By Daren Fonda



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Diving into the Gene Pool

Think you know your roots? An ancestral-DNA test unearthed a few of mine—and some big surprises too

By CAROLINA A. MIRANDA

FTHEY HELD A CONVENTION FOR RACIAL purity, I would never make the guest list. Like most other Latin American families, mine is a multiethnic stew that has left me with the generic black-eyed and olive-skinned look typical of large swaths of the world's population. My father's family is from Peru, my mother's from Chile. Their parents were born and reared in South America. Beyond that, I know nothing about my ancestors. That was fine by me—until the new and growing industry of personal DNA analysis created a need I never knew I had.

Today at least half a dozen companies will, for about \$200 a pop, take your spit, analyze the heck out of it and tell you who and what you are. The tests are popular among adoptees, armchair genealogists and high school seniors praying that a link to some underrepresented ethnic group will help get them into the Ivies. Already a card-carrying minority, I thought a test might help me figure out a thing or two about my forebears—and my mixed-up identity.

So I hit the Internet and quickly found a couple of companies that looked promising. The first, DNA Tribes in Arlington, Va., filled its website with glossy shots of ethnic types. The next, DNAPrint in Sarasota, Fla., offered a cool Flash movie of a rotating double helix. I was doubly sold. I ordered a test from each and within a couple of days was scraping the inside of my cheek with swabs and depositing my cells into prepaid envelopes ready to be sent off to the labs.

Then I set about trying to predict the results. On my father's side, I figured, high cheekbones and almond eyes probably

showed evidence of native-Andean blood. The aquiline profiles and curly hair on my mother's side, on the other hand, are common on Mediterranean shores. My best guess: I was mostly European, a bit of native South American and perhaps a dash of Middle Eastern. But like most other people who do this sort of thing, I also secretly hoped I would be related to an American Indian tribe with a lucrative casino opera-

there had been some kind of DNA mix-up. Fond as I am of stuffed cabbage, Poland and Belorussia are not places I had ever identified with. The sub-Saharan African connection was also puzzling. Any physical evidence of black Africa has apparently been diluted beyond recognition in my murky gene pool. And while heavy traces of African blood are not unusual in Latin America, they tend to be linked to West Africa, where much of the slave trade to the Americas originated. Clearly, my ancestors got around.

My mother, when I finally told her about all this, thought I was joking. My father asked me to ring back during halftime. And none of us even want to think about how my more persnickety aunts—the ones convinced they're descendants of Spanish nobility—will react when they read about our Afro-Polish roots.

I was in for yet another surprise when, a few days later, the results from DNAPrint came in. The basic elements were similar, but the blend was different: 71% European, 26% Native American and 3% sub-Saharan African. Beyond a few inscrutable charts, there was little specific information.

In fact, there were a lot of things the tests didn't tell me. Unlike a pregnancy test, with its emphatic yes or no, ancestral-DNA

testing gives you only a "statistical likelihood" of membership in a certain group. I don't know how many generations ago those ethnicities appeared in my family tree, nor (without further tests) on which side. Moreover, the gene test hasn't been invented that can un-

ravel the improbable chain of events that connected Belorussians with Mozambicans, and American Indians with Poles—ultimately to produce me, a Latina living and working in New York City.

Did the tests change my view of myself? Not really. I'll still put my check in the Latino box, imperfect as it is. If the process proved anything, it's that we're all a messy amalgam of centuries of mixing and migration. True identity, it seems, resides not in our genes but in our mind.



tion. Anything that would justify the tests on my next expense account.

Within a few weeks, I received my first results, from DNA Tribes. As I had guessed, the genetic indicators showed both European and American Indian roots. But No. 1 on the list of places I was supposed to be from was—to my great surprise—sub-Saharan Africa. What's more, No. 1 on the list of the top 10 regional populations with which I was most likely to share a piece of genetic code was Belorussia, followed closely by southeast Poland and Mozambique.

That's when I began to wonder whether

How to Spot a LIAR

THE U.S. IS POURING MILLIONS INTO NEW LIE-DETECTION TECHNOLOGIES, PEERING INTO MINDS IN WAYS THAT COULD MAKE ANYBODY NERVOUS

By JEFFREY KLUGER and
COCO MASTERS

FEW THINGS ARE EASIER THAN telling a lie, and few things are harder than spotting one when it's told to us. We've been trying to suss out liars ever since Cain fibbed to God about murdering Abel. While God was not fooled—hearing the blood of Abel crying out from the land—the rest of us do not have such divine lie-detection gifts.

But that doesn't mean we're not trying. In the post-9/11 world, where anyone with a boarding pass and a piece of carry-on is a potential menace, the need is greater than ever for law enforcement's most elusive dream: a simple technique that can expose a liar as dependably as a blood test can identify DNA or a Breathalyzer can nail a drunk. Quietly over the past five years, Department of Defense agencies and the

Department of Homeland Security have dramatically stepped up the hunt. Though the exact figures are concealed in the classified "black budget," tens of millions to hundreds of millions of dollars are believed to have been poured into lie-detection techniques as diverse as infrared imagers to study the eyes, scanners to peer into the brain, sensors to spot liars from a distance, and analysts trained to scrutinize the unconscious facial flutters that often accompany a falsehood.

At last they may be getting somewhere. Next month No Lie MRI of San Diego, a beneficiary of some of that federal largesse, will roll out a brain-scan lie-detection service it is marketing to government and industry. Another company, Cephos of Pepperell, Mass., hopes to follow within a few years.

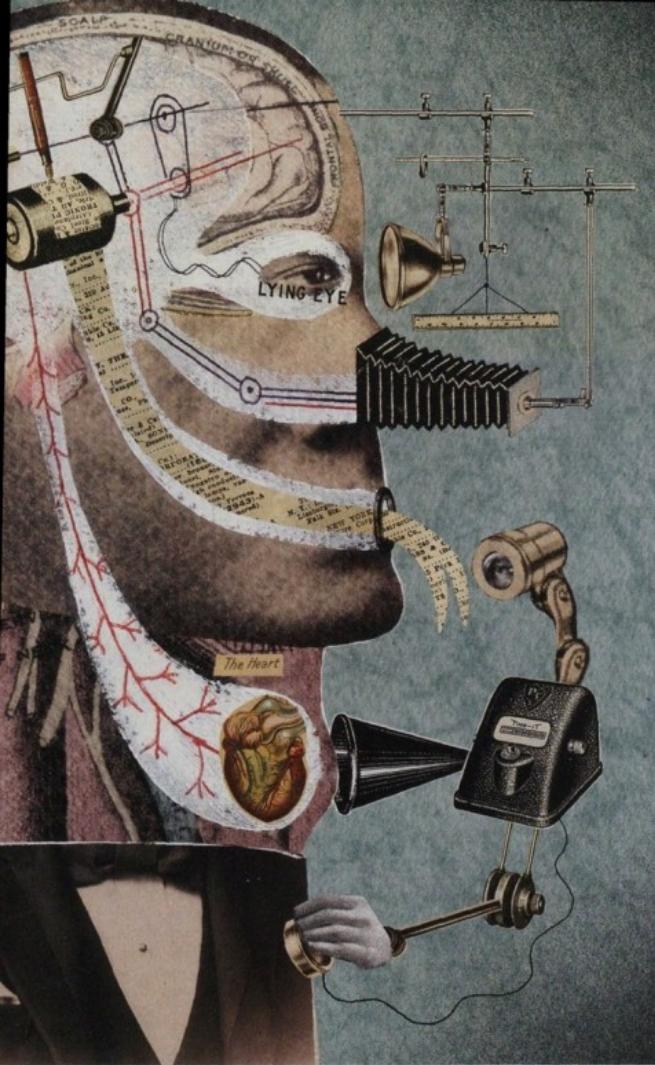
Even as those outfits ramp up, however, civil libertarians are sounding warnings. It's one thing for airport screeners to peek inside your shoes or squeeze your toothpaste



tube. It's another when they pull you aside for questioning because you set off alarms on some scanning device whose reliability could be shaky. And who knows what techniques are already in use at Guantanamo and other extralegal holding pens?

"First, we need to determine how good this science is," says Stanford University law professor Hank Greely. "Then we must decide what it can be used for."

For a technology that so many people dream of improving, lie detection has been



advancing at a glacial pace. It was 85 years ago that the venerable polygraph was introduced, and while its results are still not admissible in most criminal courts, it is at least based on a sound premise. Most of us lie easily, but we don't lie well, particularly when the truth could land us in hot water. Fibbing causes the heart to pound, breathing to accelerate and sweating to increase, and the polygraph measures all those things. Sometimes the machine works fine, but often the experience of being wired up

to a piece of gadgetry and asked questions by an unfriendly stranger can produce the same symptoms as a lie. Moreover, the best liars tend to be the least troubled by their dissembling and produce the fewest outward clues. Polygraph advocates like to say the technology is 85% to 90% accurate in criminal investigations, but just three years ago the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences dismissed the machines as useless. Says University at Buffalo social psychologist Mark Frank:

"Even the greatest technology used at gunpoint is worthless."

The inventions that could end the polygraph's long, imperfect run are not yet ready for wide use. Some of them, however, are getting tantalizingly close.

MAGNETIC RESONANCE IMAGING

NO MATTER HOW COOL YOUR BODY IS DURING questioning, your mind could still rat you out. Brains require blood to operate, and the harder they work, the more they need. Many regions of the cortex are thought to be recruited for a lie, but three stand out: the anterior (front) cingulate, which reconciles goals and intentions; the right orbital/inferior frontal, which processes the sense of reward; and the right middle frontal, which helps govern tasks requiring more than ordinary thought. Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) looks for such busy, well-oxygenated areas. Get a hit in all three zones, and you may have a liar. That is what No Lie MRI and Cephos claim they can do, with an accuracy of 90% to 93%.

ELECTROENCEPHALOGRAM

BLOOD FLOW ISN'T THE ONLY WAY YOUR MIND can blow your cover; electrical activity can too. Your brain emits signals called event-related potentials (ERPs) that can be tracked with a high-density electroencephalogram (EEG) machine and 128 sensors attached to the face and scalp. Telling the truth and then a lie can take from 40 to 60 milliseconds longer than telling two truths in a row, because the brain must shift its data-assembly strategies. In theory, if a subject truthfully answers a question related to intention (say, "Are you traveling to Miami?") and then answers a more relevant question about intention (say, "Do you plan to detonate a bomb?"), the ERP patterns might reveal if the answer is honest. Psychologists working on the technology believe it is 86% accurate.

EYE SCANS

THE STRESS THAT CREATES THE CLUES PICKED up by polygraphs also boosts blood flow in capillaries around the eye. A new application of thermal-imaging technology, called periorbital thermography, uses a high-resolution camera to detect temperature changes as small as .045°F (.025°C). Endocrinologist James Levine of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., co-authored a paper in the journal *Nature* in 2002 in which he claimed a lie-detection accuracy of 73%. Investigators at the Department of Defense Polygraph Institute (DODPI) in Fort Jackson, S.C., tell TIME they have reached 84%.

WHERE WE LIE

The brain works harder when it dissembles, and the hardworking areas need more blood; fMRIs can spot telltale patterns in key regions

● Truth ● Lying



Scientists at DODPI have also become expert at tracking the motion of the eyes. When the eye takes in a series of images of faces, objects or scenes, it spends less time on familiar elements because the brain needs less processing to interpret them. DODPI has developed an infrared camera that can track eye movement and an algorithm that can interpret it, providing clues as to whether a suspect recognizes, say, the face of a kidnapped child. Tests have reportedly achieved an 85% to 92% success rate.

MICROEXPRESSIONS

THE BEST POKER PLAYERS SAY TICS AND FLUTTERS in an opponent's face—the so-called poker tells—can telegraph when a player is bluffing. Scientists agree that the face tells tales we may wish it didn't. San Francisco psychologist Paul Ekman has codified 46 facial movements into more than 10,000 microexpressions in what he calls the Facial Action Coding System (FACS). He and Frank, who helped devise the catalog, say they can detect deception with 76% accuracy. According to Ekman, thousands of people have been trained in FACS, including Transportation Security Administration personnel. While similar behavioral screening has been used in British airports for several years, FACS is only now being rolled out as a terrorist-screening tool in a dozen U.S. airports.

EACH OF THESE SYSTEMS COMES WITH UNCERTAINTIES and limitations. Researchers working with EEGs, for example, concede that not all truths read the same way in the brain. A truthful answer about where you were born may produce a quicker—seemingly more honest—signal than an equally truthful one about how you spent your last birthday. Moreover, your brain and someone else's may not answer the same question at the same speed. Each test must thus be painstakingly calibrated for each subject. Not only is that impractical, but it also introduces a whole new level of variability—like trying to diagnose a fever if all of us had a different basal body temperature.

The shortcomings of fMRIs may be more serious. Physical anomalies such as evidence of a stroke or tumor can interfere with the scan's accuracy. And the test is administered in a decidedly unnatural way—with the subject lying down inside a giant magnet. Since speaking aloud activates regions of the brain that could swamp lie-detection results, subjects are asked yes-or-no questions and then instructed to push a button to answer. Maybe the brain operates the same way with a push-button fib as with a verbal one—but maybe it doesn't. And

because we all do a certain amount of self-censorship—telling white lies to avoid hurt feelings, for example—signs of activity in the relevant brain regions do not necessarily make you a criminal. "All fMRI lie-detection studies report findings in parts of the anterior cingulate," says University of South Carolina psychologist Jennifer Vendemia. "Well, that's good because if you don't have activation there, you're probably dead."

And don't even get critics started on the shortcomings of reading faces or heat around the eyes. The same honest anxiety that can produce false positives on a poly-

graph can also increase blood flow in the periorbital region. Facial analysis is problematic, since there's no way to standardize the skills of human analysts, and nobody can say for certain if cooler liars give up fewer clues than nervous ones. "It's not as simple as a Pinocchio phenomenon," says Frank.

The biggest problems, however, may be ethical and constitutional. For now, improved lie detection is likely to have broad public support. But what about when it reaches more surreptitiously into our lives? Biophysicist Britton Chance of the University of Pennsylvania has explored ways to use infrared light projected from a distance to penetrate the skull, looking for signs of stress similar to the ones fMRIs detect. Both that and remote periorbital thermography could be used undetectably in airport lines to spot high-stress passengers. Whether that stress is caused by the bomb you're concealing or the fact you're running late can't be known until you're pulled from line, searched and interrogated.

Several groups have raised questions about the new technologies. The American Civil Liberties Union filed Freedom of Information requests in June, seeking to learn more about lie-detection research the government is conducting and whether the techniques are already being used in the field. This fall a leading—but as yet undisclosed—science journal will publish the results of a paper it solicited from Stanford's Greely and other legal experts and scientists exploring the ethics of lie detection. The authors are not expected to smile unreservedly on the science or on the way they believe it may already be in use—perhaps, according to some reports, in Iraq. Frank has helped train people in facial analysis, but he will say only that some of them have been sent to work in "regions of interest."

Private companies like No Lie MRI face legal hurdles too. So young a technology has almost no chance of clearing the admissibility bar in criminal cases, limiting its value to potential customers in law enforcement. And the Employee Polygraph Protection Act of 1988, which restricts the circumstances under which current or prospective employers may use existing lie-detection technology, will probably apply to fMRIs too.

For now, the new lie-detection techniques are likely to remain in the same ambiguous ethical holding area as so many other privacy issues in the twitchy post-9/11 years. We'll give up a lot to keep our cities, airplanes and children safe. But it's hard to say in the abstract when "a lot" becomes "too much." We can only hope that we'll recognize it when it happens.



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SCARRED
STILL
DESOLATE

This section of New Orleans' Lower Ninth Ward is a mix of demolished houses and those still awaiting bulldozers. Hurricane Katrina destroyed some 353,000 homes in the Gulf Coast region, casting a diaspora of exiles across the country. More than 113,000 families still live in trailers provided by FEMA.

KATRINA: ONE YEAR LATER

Reaching for The Light

REVIVAL
LOOKING FOR
UPLIFT

Residents of New Orleans' Seventh Ward worship at a tent revival in July. Some said that turning to religion had eased their suffering. Only 50% of the city's pre-Katrina hospitals, 23% of child-care centers and 17% of buses and streetcars are running. By some estimates, about 40% of the city's residents have returned.

It's still so easy to be angry. Last August, a single storm swamped and choked and nearly killed a major American city, as the government seemed to abandon its residents. The shock and outrage have haunted New Orleans, a famously nostalgic city that has always lived closely with the ghosts of its past. But today's challenge is to look forward, not back. Photographer Anthony Suau visited southeastern Louisiana five times over the past year to document the tribulations and occasional triumphs of a region struggling to rebuild. Meanwhile, new threats are always gathering off our shores, along our fault lines and across our plains. As Amanda Ripley writes in her investigation of America's curious and dangerous reluctance to prepare for the next disaster (*see page 54*), the question a year after Katrina is not who will save us the next time but how will we save ourselves.



PROTECTION REBUILDING THE LEVEES

Hurricane Katrina caused 50 major breaches of levees and flood walls in New Orleans, toppling this wall, now rebuilt, along the Lower Ninth Ward. The ensuing flood covered 80% of New Orleans—up to 20 ft. deep in some places. The government has reconstructed and in some areas even raised the height of the breached levees, but the system is designed to withstand only a Category 3 hurricane. Category 5 is the worst.



HOUSING STARTING OVER

On the day of her First Communion, Reagan Cavignal, 7, and her father witness the demolition of their neighbors' house in St. Bernard Parish. The Cavignals live in a trailer beside their wrecked house. Their neighbors' house was torn down in May, a month before FEMA's offer of free home demolition expired. Louisiana's Road Home program allocated \$7.5 billion for rebuilding, but none of the money has been dispersed to residents yet.



Reaching for The Light

CRIME A SCOURGE RETURNS

On a day in late July, photographer Suau captured the promise and peril of life in the resettled city. At top, kids in the Seventh Ward eat ice cream to fend off the summer heat. Just hours later and a few blocks away, a quadruple homicide takes place, sending shock waves through the neighborhood. In the middle photo, Juanita Thomas, aunt to three of the victims, breaks down. In the early morning hours the next day, in the Fifth Ward, National Guardsmen, deployed to help police the city, interrogate a suspected drug dealer. Robbery and homicide numbers in New Orleans are nearing pre-Katrina levels, despite the drop-off in population. As drug dealers and gangs return to town, fierce turf battles have convulsed low-income neighborhoods, adding to the fear and uncertainty of already anxious returnees.



Floods, Tornadoes,
Hurricanes, Wildfires,
Earthquakes ...

Why We Don't Prepare

BY
AMANDA
RIPLEY
BOULDER

EVERY JULY THE COUNTRY'S LEADING disaster scientists and emergency planners gather in Boulder, Colo., for an invitation-only workshop. Picture 440 people obsessed with the tragic and the safe, people who get excited about earthquake "shake maps" and righteous about flood insurance. It's a spirited but wonky crowd that is growing more melancholy every year. • After 9/11, the people at the Boulder conference decried the nation's myopic focus on terrorism. They lamented the decline of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). And they warned to the point of cliché that a major hurricane would destroy New Orleans. It was a convention of prophets without any

disciples. • This year, perhaps to make the farce explicit, the event organizers, from the Natural Hazards Center at the University of Colorado, Boulder, introduced a parlor game. They placed a ballot box next to the water pitchers and asked everyone to vote: What will be the next mega-disaster? A tsunami, an earthquake, a pandemic flu? And where will it strike? It was an amusing diversion, although not a hard question for this lot. • Because the real challenge in the U.S. today is not predicting catastrophes. That we can do. The challenge that apparently lies beyond our grasp is to prepare for them. Dennis Miletic ran the Natural Hazards Center for 10 years, and is the country's leading expert on how to

warn people so that they will pay attention. Today he is semi-retired, but he comes back to the workshop each year to preach his gospel. This July, standing before the crowd in a Hawaiian shirt, Milette was direct: "How many citizens must die? How many people do you need to see pounding through their roofs?" Like most people there, Milette was heartbroken by Katrina, and he knows he'll be heartbroken again. "We know exactly—exactly—where the major disasters will occur," he told me later. "But individuals underperceive risk."

Historically, humans get serious about avoiding disasters only after one has just smacked them across the face. Well, then, by that logic, 2006 should have been a breakthrough year for rational behavior. With the memory of 9/11, the worst terrorist attack in U.S. history, still fresh in their minds, Americans watched Katrina, the most expensive disaster in U.S. history, on live TV. Anyone who didn't know it before should have learned that bad things can happen. And they are made much worse by our own lack of ambition—our willful blindness to risk as much as our reluctance to work together before everything goes to hell.

Leen Blanco and the state legislature managed to pass mandatory building codes this year. Most states already have such codes. Florida has had a strict one in place since 2001, and structures built under it tend to be the ones left standing after a 120 m.p.h. wind rips through. We know that for every dollar spent on that kind of basic mitigation, society saves an average of \$4, according to a 2005 report by the nonprofit National Institute of Building Sciences. Then there's Mississippi, which, believe it or not, still has no statewide building code. Katrina destroyed 68,729 houses there. But this year a proposed mandatory code, opposed by many builders, real estate lobbyists and homeowners, ended up voluntary.

At the same time, Mississippi has helped coastal towns develop creative plans for rebuilding more intelligently. New Orleans, however, still has no central agency or person in charge of rebuilding. The city's planning office is down to nine people, from 24 before Katrina, and it really needs 65, according to the American Planning Association. And the imperative to rebuild the wetlands that protect against storms, much discussed in the weeks after Katrina and just as important as the levees, gets less attention every day. Worst

Hurricanes

More than 130 million Americans—almost half the population—live in the path of future hurricanes

Number of hurricanes expected in a 100-year period

- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- More than 60



Earthquakes

The risk spreads far beyond the West Coast. More than 75 million people in 39 states live in potential quake zones

Probability of strong shaking in a 100-year period

- Very low
- Moderate
- High



Granted, some amount of delusion is probably part of the human condition. In A.D. 63, Pompeii was seriously damaged by an earthquake, and the locals immediately went to work rebuilding, in the same spot—until they were buried altogether by a volcano 16 years later. But a review of the past year in disaster history suggests that modern Americans are particularly, mysteriously bad at protecting themselves from guaranteed threats. We know more than we ever did about the dangers we face. But it turns out that in times of crisis, our greatest enemy is rarely the storm, the quake or the surge itself. More often, it is ourselves.

A Tour of the American Hazardscape

SO WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE YEAR THAT FOLLOWED THE CARNIVAL OF NEGLIGENCE ON THE GULF COAST? In New Orleans, the Army Corps of Engineers has worked day and night—like men bailing a sinking ship, literally—to rebuild the bulwarks. They have got the flood walls and levees to where they were before Katrina, more or less. That's, er, not enough, we can now say with confidence. But it may be all that can be expected from one year of hustle.

Meanwhile, New Orleans officials have, to their credit, crafted a plan to use buses and trains to evacuate the sick, the disabled and the carless before the next big hurricane. The city estimates that 15,000 people will need a ride out. However, state officials have not yet determined where the trains and buses will take everyone. The negotiations with neighboring communities are ongoing and difficult.

More encouraging is the fact that Louisiana Governor Kath-

leen Blanco and the state legislature are still not talking honestly about the fact that New Orleans will have to occupy a much smaller footprint in the future. It simply can't provide city services across its old boundaries, and its old boundaries cannot realistically be defended against a major storm anytime soon.

Here is the reality of New Orleans' risk profile, present and future: Donald Powell, the banker appointed by President George W. Bush to run the reconstruction effort, said last December, "The Federal Government is committed to building the best levee system known in the world." As of right now, the Corps plans to spend \$6 billion to make sure that by 2010, the city will (probably) be flooded only once every 100 years. That's not close to the best in the world. The Netherlands has a system designed to protect populated areas against anything but a 1-in-10,000-years flood. Alternatively, the Corps could build 1-in-500-year protection for the city, but that would cost about \$30 billion, says Ivor van Heerden, deputy director of Louisiana State University's Hurricane Center.

It may be unfair, but this is the reality New Orleans leaders should be talking about. In a TIME poll of 1,000 Americans taken this month, 56% said they did not think all of New Orleans should be rebuilt if it might flood again. But in New Orleans, a city cut through with racial distrust and anger over the Corps' faulty levees, the same conversation is laced with suspicion. There is enough high ground in New Orleans for the city to relocate the entire pre-Katrina population more safely. The mostly African-American Lower Ninth Ward could still exist; it would just need to be smaller. But for many locals, rebuilding in the same doomed locations has

become a point of pride, of dignity—just the opposite of what it should be. When a planning panel brought in by Nagin's Bring Back New Orleans Commission—comprising 50 specialists in urban and post-disaster planning—late last year proposed holding off on redeveloping places that had flooded repeatedly until residents had more information, the traumatized population recoiled as one. The city council quickly passed a defiant and suicidal resolution: "All neighborhoods [should] be included in the timely and simultaneous rebuilding of all New Orleans neighborhoods."

A National Culture of Unpreparedness

IN THE 12 MONTHS SINCE KATRINA, THE REST OF THE U.S. HAS NOT proved to be a quicker study than the Gulf Coast. There is still no federal law requiring state and local officials to plan for the evacuation of the sick, elderly, disabled or poor. But in the past few months, both houses of Congress triumphantly passed bills that require locals to plan for the evacuation of pets.

In June the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) released an unprecedented analysis of state and urban emergency plans

City, N.J., force the evacuation of more than 3 million people and cost more than twice as much as Katrina. An insurance-industry risk assessment ranked New York City as No. 2 on a list of the worst places for a hurricane to strike; Miami came in first. But in a June survey measuring the readiness of 4,200 insured homeowners living in hurricane zones, New Yorkers came in second to last. They had taken only about a third of eight basic steps to protect themselves from a major storm (such as getting flood insurance or putting together a disaster evacuation plan or kit).

The conventional wisdom after Katrina was that most of the people who failed to evacuate were too poor to do so. But a recent survey of more than 2,000 respondents in eight hurricane-prone states showed that other forces may also be at play. The survey, led by Robert Blendon, professor of health policy and political analysis at the Harvard School of Public Health, attempted to determine what, if anything, would pry people from their homes in the face of another Katrina. Overall, 33% said they would not leave or were not sure whether they would leave if an evacuation order was given. But it was homeowners, at 39%, who were particularly stubborn.

Floods

Americans like to live near water, but most bodies of water can—and repeatedly do—flood

Presidential flood-disaster declarations, 1965-2003

One	Three
Two	Four or more



Wildfires

As development spreads, we fight wildfires to protect property. But that leaves more fuel behind for more fires to damage more property

Wildfires of more than 250 acres, 1980-2003



Source: USGS

around the country, including assessments of evacuation plans and command structures. The report concluded that most "cannot be characterized as fully adequate, feasible, or acceptable." Among the worst performers: Dallas, New Orleans and Oklahoma City. (The best by far was the state of Florida.)

But it's not just bureaucrats who are unprepared for calamity. Regular people are even less likely to plan ahead. In this month's TIME poll, about half of those surveyed said they had personally experienced a natural disaster or public emergency. But only 16% said they were "very well prepared" for the next one. Of the rest, about half explained their lack of preparedness by saying they don't live in a high-risk area.

In fact, 91% of Americans live in places at a moderate-to-high risk of earthquakes, volcanoes, tornadoes, wildfires, hurricanes, flooding, high-wind damage or terrorism, according to an estimate calculated for TIME by the Hazards and Vulnerability Research Institute at the University of South Carolina. But Americans have a tendency to be die-hard optimists, literally. It is part of what makes the country great—and vincible. "There are four stages of denial," says Eric Holdeman, director of emergency management for Seattle's King County, which faces a significant earthquake threat. "One is, it won't happen. Two is, if it does happen, it won't happen to me. Three: if it does happen to me, it won't be that bad. And four: if it happens to me and it's bad, there's nothing I can do to stop it anyway."

Here's one thing we know: a serious hurricane is due to strike New York City, just as one did in 1821 and 1938. Experts predict that such a storm would swamp lower Manhattan, Brooklyn and Jersey

Lack of funds or transportation does play a role for stay-behinds, but according to the poll, a greater consideration is a vague belief that their home is built well enough to survive a storm—a justification offered by a whopping 68%.

People cherry-pick the lessons of Katrina to avoid taking action. Fifty-four percent of those who say they wouldn't evacuate are worried that the roads would be too crowded, and 67% believe shelters would be dangerous. That's understandable, unfortunately. One of the most damaging legacies of Katrina might be the TV images of looting and the graphic rumors of violence that crystallized our belief that we turn into savages in a disaster—a notion that is demonstrably untrue; after most disasters, including Katrina, the crime rate goes down. Ironically, 66% of those surveyed were also confident that if they stayed at home, they would eventually be rescued—a faith hardly justified by the Katrina experience. Ours is a strange culture of irrational distrust—buoyed by irrational optimism.

Heat waves bring out the same kind of self-delusion. Scott Sheridan, professor of geography at Kent State University, has studied heat-wave behavior—focusing particularly on seniors, who are at special risk in hot weather—in Philadelphia; Phoenix, Ariz.; Toronto; and Dayton, Ohio. He found that less than half of people 65 and older abide by heat-emergency recommendations like drinking lots of water. Reason: they don't consider themselves seniors. "Heat doesn't bother me much, but I worry about my neighbors," said an older respondent.

That optimism helps explain why construction along the Gulf Coast of Mexico and both coasts of Florida continues to boom, even

though hurricane season is an annual affair. Keep in mind that dense coastal construction is the main reason storms are causing more and more damage every year in the U.S. More than 50% of Americans live in coastal areas, which means heavy weather increasingly runs into people and property. Also, the elimination of wetlands to make room for development means there's less and less of a buffer zone to absorb storm surges and mitigate damage. So our biggest problem is not the weather but our romantic urge to live near water.

■ Trickle-Down Apathy

WHEN AMERICANS CANNOT BE TRUSTED TO SAVE THEMSELVES, THE government does it for them—at least that's the story of mandatory car insurance, seat-belt laws and smoking bans. But when it comes to preventing disasters, the rules are different. The message, says Paul Farmer, executive director of the American Planning Association, is consistent: "We will help you build where you shouldn't, we'll rescue you when things go wrong, and then we'll help you rebuild again in the same place."

In New Orleans, for example, many people in positions of power knew full well that the entire city should not be rebuilt after Katrina. They were quietly counting on the Federal Government to play the heavy. FEMA was expected to release new building rules for the first time since 1984. The rules would determine which areas and structures the Federal Government would insure against floods. Everything else would be lost, and the feds would be the perfect scapegoats. In April FEMA released its new guidelines. But instead of banning development in areas that are extremely likely to flood again, FEMA blinked. The major new requirement was that some houses be built 3 ft. off the ground—even though Katrina flooded up to 20 ft. in some neighborhoods.

Nationwide, only 20% of American homes at risk for floods are covered by flood insurance. Private insurers largely refuse to offer it because floods are such a sure thing. In certain flood-prone areas, the Federal Government requires people to buy policies from the government's National Flood Insurance Program to get a mortgage loan. But the program has never worked even remotely as insurance should. It has never priced people out of living in insanely risky areas. Instead, too few places are included in the must-insure category, and premiums are kept artificially low. This year, despite brave talk about finally fixing the program, Congress caved in to short-sighted constituents and real estate interests and failed to make major changes.

It may not be reassuring to hear that America's handicaps in this area are as old as the country itself. A federal system like ours is not built to plan for—or respond to—massive disasters, concedes George Foresman, the country's new Under Secretary for Preparedness. "Everything we're trying to do goes counter to how the Founding Fathers designed the system," he says, sitting in his office on the DHS campus in Washington, surrounded by pie charts documenting what needs fixing. Unlike other, more centralized governments, ours cannot easily force states or companies to act. And when the feds try to demand changes anyway, state and local officials bristle at the interference. Like teenagers, we resent paternalism—until we're in trouble. Then we expect to be taken care of.

Before he was appointed by President Bush to the new, post-Katrina preparedness job, Foresman spent more than 22 years in emergency-management in Virginia. His hiring in December was one of the few bright spots of the past 12 months, say veteran emergency planners who know him. He understands the importance of

preparing for all kinds of disasters, not just terrorist attacks. But he does not soft-sell the challenge ahead. "Frankly, the American public doesn't do well with being told what not to do," he says. With reason: before James Lee Witt became FEMA director under President Bill Clinton, he was county judge in Yell County, Ark. In 1983 he made the mistake of trying to get the county to participate in the national flood-insurance program. "I almost got cremated by farmers. [They were] saying, 'Ain't no way in hell I'm going to let the Federal Government tell me where I can build a barn,'" he says.

If the feds want something to change, they have to suggest it nicely. After the 1993 floods in the Midwest, the Federal Government, under Witt's direction, managed to do something rare: it offered to buy out flood-prone properties to prevent repeat disasters. Several communities accepted, and the government, in partnership with the state, bought back 25,000 properties. The thousands of acres left behind were converted into wetlands, which act like a sponge in storms. In 1995 the floods came again. "And guess what?" says Witt. "We never spent one dime on responding. Nobody lost everything they worked for."

Today relations between the different levels of government are at a low point. The natural tensions of a federal system have been exacerbated by an Administration that distrusts government even more than the average voter does. President Bush did not want to establish DHS to begin with. When he was pressured to do it anyway, he created a department weak in leadership, autonomy and funding.

So although DHS has received an unprecedented amount of money for emergency management, it's a fraction of what most security experts think is necessary. And most of the money has gone toward counterterrorism. While some counterterrorism equipment can be useful in other kinds of disasters, the money cannot be used to pay the salaries of state and local employees. That would violate an ideological position against making the Federal Government bigger (even though the Federal Government has grown under the Bush Administration through other outlays, like military and education spending). So \$18 billion has gone out to states and cities, but most of it has been spent on shiny equipment like haz-mat suits and X-ray machines—even in cities that desperately need police and firefighters instead. Only 20% has gone to planning and training, which Foresman himself admits is not enough.

At the close of the Boulder workshop this year, Kathleen Tierney, head of the Natural Hazards Center, stood up to say, "We as human societies have yet to understand ... that nature doesn't care. And for that reason, we must care." She was quoting herself intentionally. She had said the same thing the year before, seven weeks before Katrina. As she spoke, her voice rose: "Here we stand one year later. Where is the political will to protect lives and property?"

Then Tierney announced the hotly anticipated results of the Next Big One contest. There were some outliers. One person predicted that a gamma-ray flare would kill 90% of the earth's species. That is what is known in the disaster community as a hilarious joke. But the winner, with 32% of the votes, was once again a hurricane. After all, eight of the 10 costliest disasters in U.S. history have been hurricanes. This time, most of the hurricane voters predicted that the storm would devastate the East Coast, including New York City. History has left us all the clues we need. Now we wait for the heartbreak. —With reporting by Jeffrey Kluger/New York

Despite Katrina, most Americans believe their homes will endure a storm



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THE MAN WHO SAYS HE DID IT

John Mark Karr's confession that he killed JonBenet Ramsey is as confounding as her murder

By RICHARD LACAYO



CONFessions ARE supposed to clinch a case. And then there are confessions like the one that John Mark Karr made last week in connection with the murder of JonBenet Ramsey.

Ten years ago, the 6-year-old beauty queen's terrible death and weirdly captivating life—the hair, the costumes, the come-hither poses—became the stuff of national obsession at the very moment the O.J. Simpson story was going stale. It even promised, like the Simpson case, to be a family affair, because from the first, suspicion fell on John and Patsy Ramsey, JonBenet's parents. But the killer was never identified, the trials all went cold, and the story faded. This June, Patsy died of ovarian cancer.

Then suddenly there was Karr, saying he was the one. Or sort of saying it. At the press conference in Bangkok at which Thai officials announced his arrest, he described his role in the crime with an odd circumlocution. "I was with JonBenet when she died," he said. Detached, tentative, composed sometimes to the point of affectless, he added that the killing was "an accident"—a strange way to describe the death of a girl who suffered a massive blow to the head and was strangled with a cord. When he hesitated before answering certain questions, you wondered whether it was to consult his memories or his fantasies.

Immediately, questions about his credibility started to mount. Thai authorities say he told them he had drugged JonBenet. If he had, why did her autopsy find no evidence of drugs? Karr also reportedly told police

that on the day of the murder, he picked up JonBenet from school. Not possible: she was killed during Christmas vacation. Strangest of all, Karr's ex-wife Lara says that during the Christmas season of 1996, the time of JonBenet's death, Karr was with her in Alabama.

All the same, police and prosecutors in Boulder, Colo., where JonBenet died, must have had significant evidence to persuade a Colorado judge to issue the warrant for Karr's arrest. "There is a fairly lengthy sealed warrant," says L. Lin Wood, the Ramsey-family attorney. "[Boulder County district attorney] Mary Lacy believes she's got the guy." Investigators say privately that Karr knows things about JonBenet's death that only the killer could know. And then there was the tantalizing detail reported last week by the *Rocky Mountain News* that investigators in Lacy's office were in contact with a high school classmate of Karr's. What they want is a yearbook signed by Karr with an inscription that includes the phrase "Though, deep in the future, maybe I shall be the conqueror." Could those last four words explain one of the enduring mysteries of the JonBenet ransom note, which ends with the baffling initials S.B.T.C.?

The trail that led police to Karr began with an anonymous e-mail he sent four years ago to Michael Tracey, a journalism professor at the University of Colorado who has produced three documentaries about the case—films that had piqued Karr's interest. In time there would be hundreds of e-mails, which Tracey would eventually show to Boulder County prosecutors, who were sufficiently intrigued to reinvigorate their investigation. Earlier this year, not long before Patsy Ramsey's death, one of the investigators even posed as her online to engage Karr in a series of e-mail ex-



changes. When Karr began asking to meet with "Patricia," investigators asked the real Mrs. Ramsey whether she would meet him. She agreed but was soon too ill to do it.

So who is the real Karr? Until he was 12, he lived with his parents in Atlanta. Then, for reasons the family has not made public, he was sent to live with his grandparents in Hamilton, Ala. He attended high school there but dropped out in 1983, in the fall of his senior year. Not long after, he met and married 13-year-old Quintana Shotts. Their union was annulled in 1985 after Shotts filed a complaint alleging that Karr had forced her to wed him through "intimidation and fear." Four years later, he married again. This time his bride, Lara Knutson, was 16. By 1996, Karr was a student at Bevill State Community College in Hamilton, Ala., and was working in Marion County as a substitute teacher. But in November of that year, he was removed from the county's roster of substitutes after complaints by parents about his behavior in class. JonBenet was killed the following month.

Short-lived jobs are a theme of Karr's résumé. In the spring of 2000, while studying early-childhood education at the Uni-



Telling Untruths

If it turns out that John Mark Karr didn't kill JonBenet Ramsey, he won't be the first to confess voluntarily to a crime he didn't commit. The motivation for these phony admissions, says criminologist Jim Fisher, author of *Fall Guys: False Confessions and the Politics of Murder*, can be "mental illness or extreme guilt over another crime, or they're just yearning for the attention a big case brings, the chance to be in the history books."

That quest for notoriety has fueled legions of false confessions to high-profile crimes. After Charles Lindbergh's infant was kidnapped and murdered in 1932, more than 200 people stepped up to say they were the culprit. Over the years, 500 or so have confessed to Hollywood's 1947 "Black Dahlia" slaying.

Others may lie for more practical reasons. In 1965, when handyman Albert DeSalvo told police he was the Boston Strangler, he confessed to having brutally murdered 13 women. Some experts now suspect that DeSalvo, who at the time was in custody on lesser charges, hoped the lavish claims would bolster his rep in prison and save him from execution via an insanity plea.

Convicted arsonist Etts Wood Tool twice confessed to abducting Adam Walsh, 6, whose 1981 disappearance inspired his father John's advocacy for missing children. But Tool also twice recanted. Some believe he wanted to cash in on book and film deals. —By Kathleen Kingsbury

versity of North Alabama, Karr became a student teacher at the Kilby Professional Laboratory School. But school administrators soon called him in to discuss complaints about his behavior with fifth-grade girls. Karr failed to show for the meeting. Shortly thereafter, he dropped out of North Alabama, just weeks before graduation.

By July of that year, Karr had moved to Petaluma, Calif., the city that had been gripped by the 1993 abduction and murder of 12-year-old Polly Klaas. According to his brother Nate, by that time Karr was working on a book about men who commit sex crimes against young girls and was preoccupied with the murders of Klaas and Ramsey. Karr and his family had moved to California so that he could take a job as a teaching assistant at a Catholic elementary school in San Francisco. That job too lasted only a few weeks, although school officials say he left of his own accord. Eventually he found work in Petaluma as a substitute teacher. But four months later, the Napa County Sheriff's Department informed

school officials that it was investigating Karr for possession of child pornography. A few weeks later, he was arrested.

For Karr, that was a turning point. He spent five months in jail. His wife took their three sons and began divorce proceedings. Two months later, when he failed to show up for a court appearance, a warrant was issued for his arrest. Karr spent the next five years on the run in Europe, Central America and Asia, working as a teacher wherever he could and eventually landing in Bangkok. When police moved in last week, he was living in a shabby ninth-floor hotel room. He had just started yet another job, as a second-grade teacher.

After Karr is returned to the U.S. this week, prosecutors will move to run tests to see whether his DNA matches samples found under JonBenet's fingernails and in her underwear. If they match, all the questions about his credibility will drop to the floor. If they don't, the murder of JonBenet Ramsey will go back into the unsolved-mystery file. And so will the story of John Mark Karr. —Reported by Greg Fulton/Atlanta, Rita Healy/Boulder, Simon Montlake/Bangkok and Jeffrey Ressner/Los Angeles

Read the latest developments in the Ramsey case at time.com

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WHEREABOUTS OF



CHAS. A. LINDBERGH, JR.
OF HOPEWELL, N. J.

SON OF COL. CHAS. A. LINDBERGH
World-Famous Aviator

This child was kidnapped from his home in Hopewell, N. J., between 8 and 10 p.m. on Tuesday, March 1, 1932.

DESCRIPTION:
Age, 20 months Hair, blond, curly
Weight, 27 to 30 lbs. Eyes, dark blue
Height, 29 inches Complexion, light
Dress, simple in appearance covering night suit
ADDRESSE ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO
COL. H. H. SCHWARZKOPF, TRENTON, N. J., or
COL. CHAS. A. LINDBERGH, TRENTON, N. J.
ALL COMMUNICATIONS WILL BE TREATED IN CONFERENCE
March 11, 1932

CO. B, NEW JERSEY STATE POLICE, TRENTON, N. J.

DID THE AUTOPSY FIND NO EVIDENCE OF DRUGS?

HOW JONATHAN FRANZEN LEARNED TO STOP WORRYING (SORT OF)

A new memoir gives us the hilarious, excruciating life story of the man who wrote *The Corrections*



By LEV GROSSMAN
SAN JOSE

JONATHAN FRANZEN IS LOOKING for an owl. He got a tip off the Internet about an owl living in a particular tree in this particular park in sunny San Jose, Calif. Now we are staring at the tree with binoculars from a distance of about 20 ft. Is the owl not home? Is it using some owl camouflage power on us? Is this even the right tree? In the past hour Franzen, 47, who's a pretty hard-core bird watcher, has already spotted California quail, some towhees, a scrub jay, a flicker and a few acorn woodpeckers. So far no owl, though.

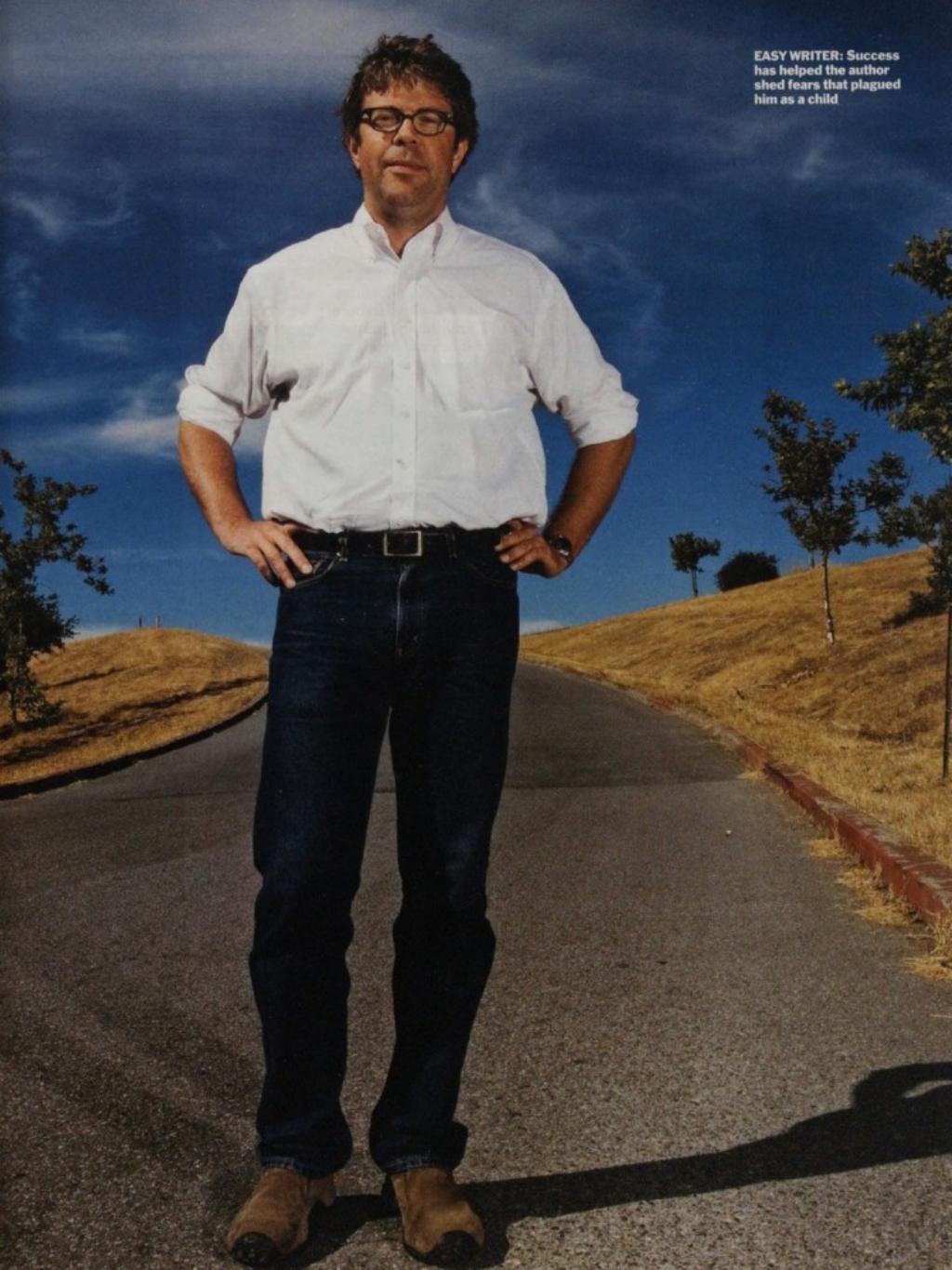
Bird watching isn't actually Franzen's main gig. You probably know him as the author of the huge 2001 best seller *The Corrections*, a symphony of Midwestern, middle-class mental suffering that conveys depression and anxiety more entertainingly and eloquently than al-

most any book I've ever read, and which almost instantly made him the premier literary novelist in his age bracket. You might also possibly remember Franzen as the man who rather too honestly expressed his ambivalence over being chosen for Oprah Winfrey's book club, prompting Winfrey to honestly, unambivalently rescind her invitation to come on her show.

So who is this cheerful, good-natured, owl-spotting nature boy? And what has he done with Jonathan Franzen? He's not the same tortured genius who wrote *The Corrections*. Success has changed him. He's a slightly different kind of genius now. His wonderful and supremely personal new memoir *The Discomfort Zone* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; 195 pages) offers a few clues as to why.

Franzen grew up nerdy and nervous in a small, comfortable town in Missouri called Webster Groves. Here are a few things that young Jonathan was afraid of, according to *The Discomfort Zone*: "spiders, insomnia, fish hooks,





EASY WRITER: Success has helped the author shed fears that plagued him as a child

school dances, hardball, heights, bees, urinals, puberty, music teachers, dogs, the school cafeteria, censure, older teenagers, jellyfish, locker rooms, boomerangs, popular girls," and most of all, "my parents." When he wasn't afraid, Franzen was embarrassed. Here's another list citing reasons why the boy Franzen wasn't popular. "I had a large vocabulary, a giddily squeaking voice, horn-rimmed glasses, poor arm strength, too-obvious approval from my teachers, irresistible urges to shout unfunny puns, a near eidetic acquaintance with J.R.R. Tolkien, a big chemistry lab in my basement, a penchant for intimately insulting any unfamiliar girl unwise enough to speak to me, and so on."

In places *The Discomfort Zone* reads like outtakes from a Judy Blume young-adult novel. On a church retreat, a girl caught Franzen cheating at cards and thereafter addressed him as "Cheater." He once publicly confused the words masturbation and menstruation. For a high school speech class, he brought in his stuffed Kangaroo and Roo toys to illustrate his talk about Australian wildlife. "It's like, if I were making a list of things that I don't want to talk about and don't want to write about publicly, these would be at the top of it," Franzen says. "That's the organizing principle: precisely the things that I think are least suitable for public consumption are the ones that I wanted to find a way to write about publicly, and to try to forgive myself for, by making myself a laughable figure."

He certainly found a way. If it were possible to calculate the frequency of mots justes in a piece of prose, Franzen's ranking would be through the roof. He puts up Updikean numbers. His writer's eye picks out the "chevroned metal floor" of a merry-go-round, and a man with a ponytail "as thick as a pony's tail." A cheap space heater is "a wattage hog with a stertorous fan and a grinning orange mouth." The California towhee, one of his favorite birds, is like "a friend whose energy and optimism had escaped the confines of a single body to animate roadsides and backyards across thousands of square miles."

Though not everybody loves Franzen. After he got labeled a snob in the Oprahgate affair (and Winfrey had moved onto embracing and then birching James Frey—is this a pattern of abuse?), *Harper's* magazine published a long cover story by the writer Ben Marcus accusing Franzen of betraying the cause of difficult, experimental writing

in favor of mere popular storytelling—essentially, of not being *enough* of a snob. It's like the guy can't win. "I'd done him a number of favors, done nice things for him," Franzen says of Marcus. "My real feeling about it is that the article was so silly in so many ways, I just didn't want to engage with it. I didn't want to dignify it."

The story of *The Discomfort Zone* is largely the story of Franzen shedding his fears, or at least learning to live with them. And the success of *The Corrections* has been a big part of that. "I really hit the jackpot," he says, sounding as if he's still freshly relieved. "I wrote the book that I wanted to

was totally new." Although based in Manhattan, he and his girlfriend spend part of the summer near San Jose, Calif. Basically, he's happy for the first time in his life. He has even made a truce with his old nemesis: next month *O* magazine will run a two-page spread on *The Discomfort Zone*. "I'm not sure all is forgiven." He thinks about it and chuckles. "But maybe it is."

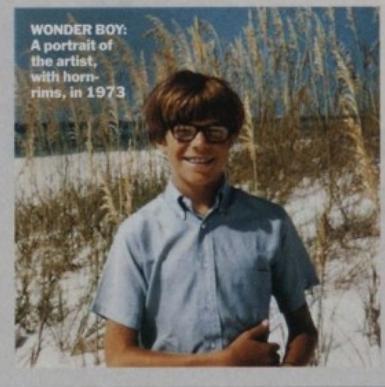
Franzen is also working on a new novel. It's poor form to grill a writer about a work in progress, but I do it anyway, and he throws me a few cryptic crumbs. "The deep ecologists like to say that nature bats last," he says. "Whenever anyone is trying to say,

mankind is smarter than nature ... we are *of* nature. And nature does therefore always bat last." So something political? "Certainly that's another thing I've been doing over the past five years. Being upset over the state of American politics."

He's not completely cured. In conversation Franzen is still a little anxious and nerdy, and he throws in monster 30-second pauses while he agonizes—literally, he looks as if he's in agony—over precisely what word to say. He still wears horn-rims. He asks several times if he's being interesting. He can't resist throwing out weird little factsoids that have adhered to his sticky, hyper-retentive mind (according to Franzen, 43% of Subaru owners are Republicans; every person in the continental U.S. lives within one mile of an owl; scrub jays kill an estimated 100 million songbirds a year in California alone). And writing is still a struggle. He works in a darkened room, with earplugs, noise-canceling headphones and something called pink noise (it's like white noise but with more bass) playing in the background. "You think, my God, I've been writing for 20 or 25 years, I ought to recognize in half a day when I'm on the wrong track," he says ruefully. "You wonder how on earth you ever wrote anything that didn't suck."

You can cut down on fear and embarrassment and disappointment, but you can never quite go cold turkey. "The double bind, the problem of consciousness mixed with nothingness, never goes away," Franzen writes in *The Discomfort Zone*. And he never does find that owl. But somehow it doesn't really bother him. "Much of bird watching is about disappointment," he says. "Part of the appeal is that really, more often than not, you don't see what you're looking for. The great pursuits are more about failure than about success."

WONDER BOY:
A portrait of
the artist,
with horn-
rims, in 1973



COURTESY JONATHAN FRANZEN

“It’s always embarrassing to confront just how clueless you were.”

write, and then—which couldn't be counted on—it got a tremendous amount of attention. So that burning feeling of being unrecognized for what I felt myself to be is momentarily alleviated."

The new, less fearful Franzen is a less tightly wound Franzen. After *The Corrections*, he got cable and developed what he calls "a *Law & Order* problem of significant dimensions." He stopped hunching his shoulders. He took up bird watching. "I spent whole days doing that, which would have been inconceivable, first 20 years out of college," he says. "To do something just for fun, for a whole day, on a weekday? That

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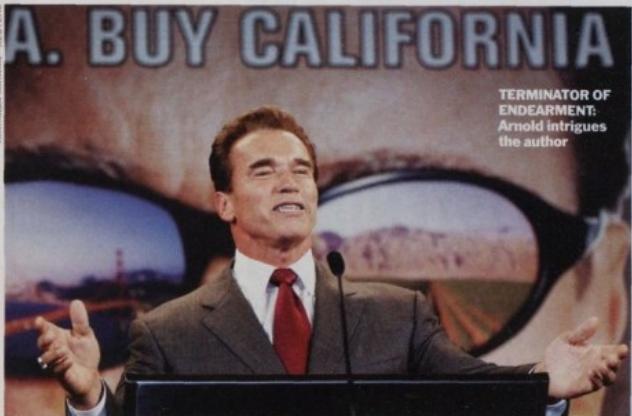
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**TERMINATOR OF
ENDEARMENT:
Arnold intrigues
the author**

Dude, Where's My State?

A transplanted New Yorker tries to make sense of Arnold, Arianna and other exotic Californian fauna

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY
I Feel Earthquakes More Often Than They Happen by Amy Wilentz (2006, \$24.95)
HER NERVES JANGLED BY Sept. 11, her husband tempted by a schmancy new job, New Yorker Amy Wilentz pulled up stakes and moved across the country to Los Angeles. What she knew of California was largely derived from Beach Boys lyrics. What she found "felt a lot like the Third World": a state beset by fires, floods, earthquakes, energy shortages, debt and political crisis. "I had arrived in L.A. hoping to avoid catastrophe," Wilentz writes in her new book, *I Feel Earthquakes More Often Than They Happen* (Simon & Schuster; 322 pages), "only to find that I was living in its capital."

That is what happens when one coast rolls over in bed and stares, shocked and remorseful, at exactly whom it has been sharing a continent with all these years. Wilentz is horrified by her new home state, but she's also mesmerized by it, and she sets out to get to the bottom of what makes California Californian. She parties with Arianna Huffington, lunches with Warren Beatty and does yoga next to Nicole Kidman. She studies with nutty mystics in Big Sur. She rents out her house as a film location. She visits California's failed desert communities and explores its complex water-management system. (She can get a little wonky at times— "Water flow is measured in acre-feet . . .")

She lavishes extra fascination on Arnold Schwarzenegger: man, meme, Governor, bodybuilder, robot assassin—a man who cannot pronounce the letter r even though there's one in California and three in his name. It still boggles her that a celebrity can trade an actor's fame for a politician's popularity and have it be accepted as legal tender, one for one. Schwarzenegger's sheer blankness interests Wilentz too. "He's a pure narcissist," she writes. "Contentless, and in this way highly appropriate to his times."

But spot-on as it usually is, and amusing as it almost always is, Wilentz's book is missing something. Maybe looking for complexity in a man as simple as Schwarzenegger is just quixotic. Maybe it's the Governor himself—she never gets done with him. Maybe it's just that too many of the clichés about California are so familiar. Is it worth being told again that Hollywood is out of touch, rich people are phony, and the state is overrun with wacky spiritual advisers? There's something unfocused and Californian about *I Feel Earthquakes*, which made me keep referring to the front flap to be reminded of what, exactly, the book is supposed to be about. It's pleasant enough, but as Gertrude Stein said of her hometown (it was Oakland, Calif.), "There's no there there." —By Lev Grossman

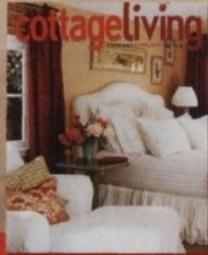
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**SASHA
DOBSON
MODERN
ROMANCE**

LIKE MANY young jazz singers nowadays, Dobson, 26, is trying for a mellow pop-jazz groove à la Norah Jones. Her plangent, almost vibrato-free voice rides over a mélange of island rhythms, bossa nova and folky acoustics, mostly in new songs she has co-written. They go down as easily as frozen margaritas, never more beguilingly than when she slips in scat syllables like "dit-doo, die-yah-da-doo" in *Four Leaf Clover*, or simply "ooh-ooh-ooh, ooh-ooh-ooh" in *Cold to Colder*.



**▼ JOHN
PIZZARELLI
DEAR MR.
SINATRA**

YET ANOTHER Frank Sinatra tribute? Yes, but on this one, singer-guitarist Pizzarelli makes no attempt to evoke the master's sound or mannerisms. A good thing too, since his light, cool voice carries little of Sinatra's sensuality and swagger. Resourcefully backed by the Clayton-Hamilton Jazz Orchestra (at times cut down to nifty combos), Pizzarelli is at his best in his readings of the insouciant *Yes Sir, That's My Baby*, the wistful *If I Had You* and even the trademark *Ring a Ding Ding*.

ANDREW GUTHMAN



DR. JOHN



BEGUILING: Dobson slips scat syllables into a mellow groove



**NANCY
WILSON
TURNED
TO BLUE**

IT'S BEEN A long career for the polished Wilson, whose first albums appeared in the 1960s, and she faces that truth head-on in such numbers as *These Golden Years* and *I Don't Remember Ever Growing Up*. Shorter breathed these days, she can still summon a warm, rich sound and vividly tell a song's story. With a big band behind her in *Taking a Chance on Love*, she also shows there's plenty of fire in her autumnal mood.

TODD CHALKLEY

6 JAZZ SINGERS WORTH A LISTEN

Need to cool down in the dog days?
Take a taste of these refreshing stylists



**PATRICIA
BARBER
MYTHOLOGIES**

JAZZ MUSICIANS have taken inspiration from the classics before, but surely songwriter-singer-pianist Barber is the first to base a song cycle on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Her *Pygmalion* is sweetly yearning, her *Persephone* sexy over a Latin beat. In the hard-edged *Whiteworld/Oedipus*, the Greek King is an arrogant white imperialist in the Third World. These intricate, ruminative works are a long way from the blues in B flat—and they're worth the stretch.



**DR. JOHN
MERCENARY**

DR. JOHN, THE New Orleans character extraordinaire, sings what are billed as the songs of Johnny Mercer. Actually they're mostly other composers' tunes with lyrics by Mercer—and there's the rub. Dr. John is a master of the funky mumble, his vowels brayed and bent, his consonants missing in action. Still, these R&B-flavored, gutbucket tracks catch the Mercer spirit if not always the letters. Concedes Dr. John in an original: "For better or worse,/ I ain't no Johnny Mercer." But he'll do.



**▼ MADELEINE
PEYROUX
HALF THE
PERFECT
WORLD**

THE FORMULA is unchanged from Peyroux's previous albums: a few chugging, countrified originals, a French café song and the rest standards and contemporary folk-rock. But who's complaining? One might wish Peyroux would go full throttle more often, but there's no arguing with her sly, teasing rhythm on originals like *I'm All Right* or the aching conviction she brings to ballads like Joni Mitchell's *River* (a duet with k.d. lang). If this is sameness, let's have more of it.

—By Christopher Porterfield



MARINA CHAVANE



Judith DeVries is faculty founder and instructor at St. Leonard's Adult High School, which helps ex-offenders earn high school diplomas. She's using her research in experiential learning to ensure her school's programs give every student the second chance they need. Learn more at [WaldenU.edu](#).

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THE SPORTS-DRINK WARS

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

WHEN I BEGAN TRAINING LAST YEAR FOR MY FIRST marathon, my running partner Dave Freedholm, an experienced amateur distance runner, impressed on me the need to vigilantly avoid dehydration. His drink of choice was Accelerade. Like Gatorade, the original sports drink, it's packed with sugars and sodium to provide energy and replace the electrolytes depleted in sweat. But it also contains protein, which he said would help my muscles repair themselves more quickly after the punishing training runs he took me on.

Sure enough, I never felt much pain until after the marathon itself, and even then I recovered within a couple of days (aside from a foot injury, but that's another story). My anecdotal report isn't scientific, but legitimate research has consistently confirmed the muscle-repairing properties of protein consumed just after exercise.

Two new studies add some real science to the topic. Unfortunately, they contradict each other. One, appearing in the journal *Medicine & Science in Sports & Exercise*, compared a Gatorade-like drink with one similar to Accelerade, as well as with an

artificially sweetened placebo. The conclusion: added protein might indeed help muscle recovery, but it does nothing to aid athletic performance. The other, appearing in the

International Journal of Sport Nutrition and Exercise Metabolism, looked not at performance but at hydration—how much of what you drink stays in your body. And in that study Accelerade came out on top.

That may not come as much of a surprise, considering that the studies were funded, respectively, by the companies that make Gatorade and Accelerade. Both articles seem reasonably sound as far as they go—and being published in real journals puts them a cut above the usual in-house publicity stunt. But in some ways, they don't go very far. For one thing, they're much too small—just 13 subjects in one case and 10 in the other—to be considered

definitive. And both claim to be double-blind—a good thing in a research study, since it means that neither the testers nor the subjects are told who's getting which drug (or in this case, which drink) at any given time. But if you have ever tasted Gatorade and Accelerade, you might wonder whether

Dueling studies prove Gatorade is best ... or maybe it's Accelerade ...

the athletes could really have been fooled. It's not clear whether that knowledge could influence either performance or fluid retention, of course, but stranger things have

happened.

What's most noteworthy here is that both studies acknowledge that for serious athletes, sports drinks are significantly better than water. In addition to supplying energy and replenishing electrolytes, Gatorade and Accelerade deliver more fluid to dried-out cells than plain water does. The *Sport Nutrition* study says Accelerade beats Gatorade on that score by 15%—important if you're an elite athlete, maybe, but for most of us, not a crucial difference. Also, Accelerade is a bit more expensive and, in my opinion, not quite as tasty as Gatorade, which I sometimes drink just because I like the flavor.

Nevertheless, I'll probably stick with Accelerade for exercise. It has the carbs and sodium I need, and given the choice of hurting more the next day or hurting less—well, pain has never appealed to me that much. Dave and I will be running the Baltimore, Md., half-marathon in October, by the way. If you're there, cheer us on.



A GROWING THIRST

In 1976 just **25,000** Americans finished a marathon. By last year that number had jumped to **432,000**

In 2003, the latest year for which numbers are available, nearly **16 million** Americans made at least **100 visits** to a gym

Sales of sports drinks and energy bars in the U.S. topped **\$6 billion** in 2005. Best-seller Gatorade has a 79% market share

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4 oz. fresh mozzarella cheese, thinly sliced

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Chopped fresh basil leaves

Preheat grill.

Evenly spread Sauce on pizza crust, then top with cheese. Close cover and grill over medium heat, rotating occasionally, 10 minutes, or until sauce is hot and cheese is melted. Drizzle with Olive Oil, sprinkle with basil and serve immediately.

Serves 4.



No chefs' egos were harmed in the making of this recipe.

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YOUR TIME

FOOD

CUPCAKE NATION

By JOEL STEIN

THERE'S NOTHING INHERENTLY WRONG WITH THE CUPCAKE. Just like there's nothing inherently wrong in the Koran. But our society's twisting of the cupcake's role has become a sickness. They've paved the local bakery and put up a \$3 cupcake store. Not only has the cupcake specialty boutique spread like a contagion to nearly every major city in the country, but nearly a dozen cupcake-recipe books have come out in the past two years, which is particularly amazing when you consider that,

not counting dye, there are only about seven ingredients in a cupcake.

Patient zero was Magnolia, a tiny, retro bakery in New York City's West Village, which, in 1996, had some extra batter and made a dozen cupcakes. Soon Magnolia had to institute a limit on cupcakes per customer. Then Sarah Jessica Parker, who lived nearby, put her local phenomenon on *Sex and the City*, leading tour buses to stop there. At the admittedly delicious Sprinkles in Los Angeles, which Oprah declared her favorite cupcake after getting a box from Barbra Streisand, the line on weekends is more than half an hour long. Which, yes, is longer than it takes to bake a cupcake.

I totally get it. As a kid, my heart pumped in anticipation of a classmate's birthday and the inevitable arrival of that wide, low pink box. I'd pick away at the frosted top, then collect the remaining pure cake in both hands, eating out of my palms like a crazed bird on a sugar high. And when no one was looking, I'd shove the paper in my mouth and chew it like cupcake gum. Even now I like an occasional chai latte-flavored Sprinkles cupcake, just as I appreciate a great burger or mac and cheese. The prob-

These are scary times. That's when people crave comfort food



lem is that in the yuppie-under-40 set, there are no other desserts. Just a constant weighing and comparing about the nation's cupcakeries, as if they were the *Goldberg Variations*.

To my shock, Michelle Myers—who trained at Le Cordon Bleu in Paris, runs the patisserie Boule in Los Angeles and makes some of the best *canelés* and Parisian macaroons in the U.S.—approves of cupcake mania. "It crossed our minds that we put a lot of expensive ingredients and skilled technique into making *canelés*, and they're the

same price as cupcakes," she says of what artisanal bakeries have discovered is the most profitable dessert not made by Hostess. But Myers also loves being transported to her childhood via the American madeleine. She not only buys cupcakes but also bakes them on weekends for her little sister.

Candace Nelson, who co-owns Sprinkles with her husband, opened a second Los Angeles location last week and plans to go national. "These are scary times. That's when people crave comfort food," says the former investment banker. "That's why I went into the cupcake business. I'm in

this little cupcake bubble where everyone is smiling ear to ear."

That's what bugs me about cupcakes: they're fake happiness, wrought in Wonka unfood colors. They appeal to the same unadventurous instincts that drive adults to read *Harry Potter* and watch *Finding Nemo* without a kid in the room. They're small and safe, and so people convince themselves that they can't have that many calories. They are the dessert of a civilization in decline. The worst part is, I want a cupcake right now but bad.



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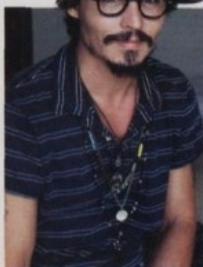


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SHELLY PACH—STARTRAK

YET ANOTHER CUTTING-EDGE ROLE

Playing a barber might seem a tame choice for **JOHNNY DEPP**. But not when it's Sweeney Todd. Depp and director Tim Burton—who previously teamed up on *Edward Scissorhands* and last year's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*—are reuniting for a movie version of the Stephen Sondheim musical about the murderous London barber who shaves his clients a little too closely. Depp, who will do his own singing, popped by the Broadway revival earlier this year and chatted with Michael Cerveris, the Tony-nominated thesp who plays Sweeney. The part is grueling, Cerveris says, but "we know Johnny Depp is very good with scissors. Razors shouldn't be a problem."

IT'S ONE MORE HOLLYWOOD ENDING

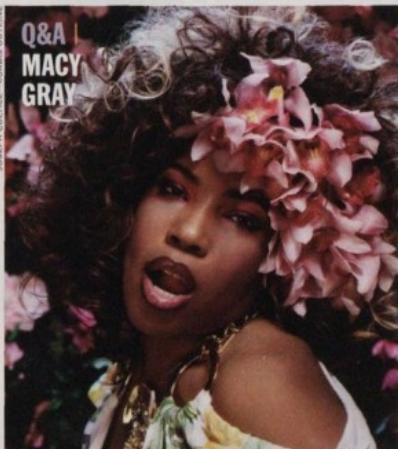
This sounds familiar. Two great-looking people make a movie. Soon after, one of them calls it quits on a marriage. Gossip—and gossip magazines—follow. No, we're not talking Brad, Jen and Angelina. That's so last year. This time out, it's **KATE HUDSON** and her rock-star husband **CHRIS ROBINSON**, who announced last week that they had split after six years of matrimony and one baby boy, now 2½. The gossipiest of the gossip mags pin the blame on Hudson's You, Me and Dupree co-star Owen Wilson. Their publicists insist that Hudson and Wilson are just good friends.

WORKING ON A CLEANER IMAGE

Here's a test of celebrity status: Do people show up to watch you sweep a street? **BOY GEORGE**, the '80s pop icon, was mobbed last week when he performed community service in New York City—his sentence for lying to police about a phony break-in (a cocaine-possession charge was dropped). At first, George balked, but he seemed to get into it during his five days behind the broom and even floated the idea of a benefit for the city's street cleaners. And, yes, people did turn out to see the Karma Chameleon at work in a sanitation worker's vest.



Q&A MACY GRAY



Doing what comes naturally, Macy Gray sings and sashays her way through the film *Idlewild*, a musical set in the 1930s but with a hip-hop beat.

It looks as if you had a good time making this film. I had a blast. We would all hang out on the set, even if we didn't have a scene, because it was such a fun vibe.

Any trouble getting into your role as a female pimp? No, it came natural to me [laughs]. I have an aunt who has the same spirit as Taffy, my character, so I modeled it after her.

Is your aunt a madam? No, but she could be. She's pretty wild. **Last fall, you started the M. Gray Music Academy as an after-school arts-education program for kids in L.A. Are you teaching there?** No, but I did a workshop on style and image where I took the students shopping and showed them how

to choose outfits to perform in.

You realize this has reality show written all over it, right? We definitely have a lot of drama going on over there, so it's a good thought.

You've also got a new CD on the way. Did you choose the title *Big* because you think it will be? It's definitely going to be huge. But the title is more about the big changes that were going on in my life. Before, I just cared about the moment. Now I want to do things that sustain me.

After being in movies with Denzel Washington and Terrence Howard, you must be hoping for a role where you get the guy in the end. I'm writing a love story, and in it I'm gonna get the guy. —By Sonja Steptoe

Jeffrey Kluger

Get Pluto out of Here!

Why it's not a planet, Europe is no continent and W. isn't "43"

HISTORY HAS NO RECORD OF GROVER CLEVELAND AND Grover Cleveland ever sitting down together. That's odd, since the two Presidents occupied the Oval Office just four years apart—Cleveland from 1885 to 1889, and Cleveland following him there in 1893. Had it not been for the four years Benjamin Harrison served as President between them, the country could have transitioned from one Cleveland to the other without even changing the monogrammed bathrobe in the White House residence.

Had Cleveland and Cleveland ever spoken, it would have been a decidedly one-way conversation, since they were the same man. But you wouldn't know it from American history books. Right there in the great march of Presidents, from Washington at No. 1 to Bush at 43, is Cleveland clocking in at 22 and then again—like a presidential whack-a-mole—at 24. We're a country with 43 Presidents, but only 42 men have held the job. The two President Bushes affectionately refer to each other by the nicknames 41 and 43, but the fact is, they're really 40 and 42.

It was last week's coverage of the controversy concerning the planet Pluto that brought Cleveland to mind (and, no, not because of his physique; that was Taft). Much the way 19th century pundits no doubt fought over which numeral to assign the inconveniently nonconsecutive Cleveland, astronomers have spent the past few years debating whether or not Pluto is in fact a planet or whether new findings place it in a family of smaller, humbler objects. The problem is more complex than just firing a planet and downsizing the solar system from nine to eight. If you keep your definitions loose enough to retain Pluto, then you have to award the planet label to at least three similar objects in our solar system. Think Congress gets into a slapfest over the problem of immigrant workers? That's civil compared with astronomers' catfights over immigrant worlds.

So let's be clear: Pluto has to go. Clean out your locker, turn in your playbook and go see the coach. Oh, and on your way out, tell the other walk-ons and wannabes that the roster is frozen. We're sticking with the original eight.

There's sound scientific reason to return the solar system to what it was before Pluto the poseur was discovered in 1930. True planets form in roughly the equatorial plane of the sun, occupying

ing specific, permanent orbits. That's not Pluto. It is a tiny joyrider from the rubble stream surrounding the solar system that broke free and orbits the sun in a tilted, elongated orbit.

But astronomers don't see things so simply. Instead, they've appointed a committee that met in Paris in June and July and drafted a proposed solution that defines a planet by shape, center of orbital gravity and more. Committees and clarity don't go together, and the proposal is just what critics feared: science as tax code, with the cosmos codified in such elaborate ways that, never mind nine planets, we could end up with dozens.

It's this kind of overthinking that leads not just to the cosmic sloppiness of a crowded solar system but also to the existential absurdity of counting Cleveland twice. You don't have to be a stickler to want to heed the dictum of William of Ockham, the 14th century monk who famously declared, "Things should not be multiplied unnecessarily," which is how they said "Less is more" back then. So in honor of Ockham, let's dispense with a few other stubborn, definitional problems once and for all.

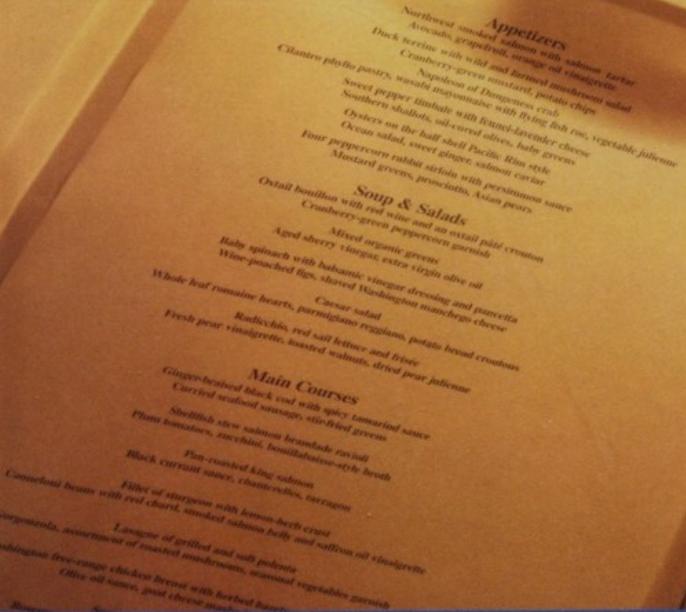
Europe: you're not a continent; you've never been a continent. I know, it would be galling if a raw cowboy island like Australia retained its glittery Continent label while you were downgraded to Midsized Peninsula of Western Asia. But hello? Look at a map. Besides, these days you've got the euro, which is currently trading at about a buck thirty against the dollar. Don't be greedy.

Y: a vowel? Please. Y gets plenty of work as a consonant without having to moonlight in a job it wasn't designed for. Someone needs to show some guts and either change the spelling of problem words (what's wrong with *fli*, *cri*, *cript*) or relax the rule about every word having to have at least one vowel in it. Either way is fine, but the whole "sometimes y" thing has always smelled like a dodge.

Panda: raccoon or bear? Seems the lesser known red panda has a scrap of raccoon in him, which has thrown the whole panda clan into question. I say split the difference: go with bears for the white ones, raccoons for the red ones, and do it quick. (These are biologists we're dealing with, not astronomers. Give them too much time, and they'll start dissecting things.) And if we ever find yet another type of panda out there, just call it Grover Cleveland. There are plenty of those to go around. ■



If reading a menu is like taking an eye test...



Appetizers

- Northeast smoked salmon with salmon tartar
- Avoeoles, grapefruit, orange and mango mousse salad
- Duck terrine with wild and farmed mushroom salad
- Cranberry sauce with Dungeness crab
- Cilantro phyllo pastry, wasabi mayonnaise with flying fish roe, vegetable julienne
- Sweet pepper strudel with feta and lavender cheese
- Oysters on the half-shell Pacific Rim style
- Ocean salad, sweet ginger, salmon ceviche
- Four peppercorn rubber strudel with pomegranate sauce
- Mustard greens, prosciutto, Asian pears

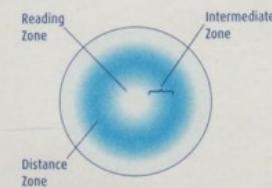
Soup & Salads

- Oxtail bouillon with red wine and an oxtail puree garnish
- Cranberry-green peppercorn garnish
- Mixed organic greens
- Aged sherry vinegar, extra virgin olive oil
- Baby spinach with balsamic vinegar dressing and parmesita
- Wine-poached figs, shaved Washington manchego cheese
- Caesar salad
- Whole leaf romaine hearts, parmesano reggiano, potato based crostini
- Fresh pear, radicchio, red salt lettuce and frisee
- Radicchio, red salt lettuce and frisee
- Fried green tomatoes, baked beans, dried pear julienne

Main Courses

- Ginger-beaniced black cod with spicy tamari sauce
- Curried seafood sausage, stir-fried greens
- Shucked slice salmon brandade ravioli
- Plum tomatoes, zucchini, basil-tarragon-style bread
- Pan-roasted king salmon
- Black currant sauce, chive butter, tarragon
- Cannelloni beans with red chard, smoked salmon belly and saffron oil vinaigrette
- Fillet of sturgeon with lemon-beef crust
- Lasagne of grilled and soft polenta
- Washington free-range chicken breast with herbed bacon
- Olive oil sauce, goat cheese mashed

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